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John Stewart.

B A Y of B I S C A Y
C. Ortegal
C. Prior
Ferrol
Betanzos
Corcubion
Cape Finisterre
Muros
Noya
R. Tambre
El Padron
Santiago
Pontevedra
Vigo
Tuy
Valenca
Villa Nova
Camina
Braga
Guimaraens
Villa de Conde
Amarante
Oporto
Feira
Ovar
Aveiro
Mira
Pena Cova
Monte mor Velha
Soure
Louriçal
Leyria
Batalha
Caldas
Thomar
Abrantes
Santarem
Almeyrin
Salvaterra
Alenquer
Torres Vedras
Mafra
Cintra
C. Roca or Rock of Lisbon
St. Ubes
Cape Espichel
Alcacer
Alvito
Ferreira
Beja
Serpa
Moura
Xerez
Evora
Montemor Novo
Evoramonte
Estremoz
Elvas
Badajoz
Albuera
Olivenca
Moncaras
Campo Mayor
Arronches
Portalegre
Nissa
Gavoon
Punhete
Rosmanthal
Zibreira
Villa Velha
As Carriadas
C. Branco
Atalaya
Pennagarcia
Pena Maior
S. Vincent
Pampilhosa
Coimbra
Redinha
Pombal
Leyria
Aveiro
Viseu
Lamego
Almeida
Guarda
Sabugosa
Castanheira
Braganza
Miranda
Outeiro
Carvajales
Chaves
Monterey
Verin
Orense
Monforte
Lugo
Mondonedo
Vivero
Foz
Ribadeo
Navia
Castropol
Luarca
Pravia
Aviles
Gijon
Oviedo
Infiesta
Ribadesella
Llanes
Santillana
LA MONTANA
Puente Deume
Betanzos
Carballo
Mellid
Santiago
Noya
El Padron
Chantada
Monforte
Nogales
Ponferrada
Fuencavadon
Astorga
Bembibre
Valle de Fenar
Bollo
Orense
Ginzo
Puente Ginzo
Monterey
Verin
Chaves
Braganza
Outeiro
Miranda
Mirandela
Formoselle
Ledesma
Salamanca
Alba de Tormes
Pemaranda
Villar
Calzadilla
Alaejos
el Pedroso
Toro
Zamora
Villalpanda
Villafafila
Benavente
Valencia de D. Juan
Valderas
Mayorga
Sahagun
Mancilla
Leon
Carrion
Saldana
Villadiego
Palencia
Torquemada
Duenas
Medina del R. Seco
Cabezon
Valladolid
Simancas
Tordesillas
Portillo
Pesquera
Ponfiel
Medina
Olmedo
Cuellar
Carbonera
Coca
Cantalejo
Arevallo
S. M. de Nieva
Segovia
Villacastin
Aldeavieja
Villafranca
Avila
Escurial
Cabreros
Momboltran
Casarubios
Maqueda
Cevolla
Puebla
Talavera la Reyna
Navalmoral
Tropeza
Almaraz
St. del Arzobispo
Canaveral
Coria
Salvaterra
Plasencia
Yavamarquendo
Miranda
Bejar
Sanabria
Zamora

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LETTERS

FROM

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN;

COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF THE

OPERATIONS OF THE ARMIES

UNDER THEIR EXCELLENCIES

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY AND SIR JOHN MOORE,

FROM THE

LANDING OF THE TROOPS IN MONDEGO BAY TO THE BATTLE AT CORUNNA.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS BY HEATH, FITTLER, WARREN, &c.

FROM DRAWINGS MADE ON THE SPOT

BY ADAM NEALE, M.D. F.L.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS; AND PHYSICIAN TO HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

LONDON:

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1809.

By T. Gillet, Crown-court, Fleet-street.

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PREFACE.

THE result of the late Campaign in Portugal and Spain, seems fully to verify the opinion of an eminent modern writer, who, after observing, that a nation, consisting of degenerate and cowardly men, be it ever so numerous, is weak; while one, consisting of vigorous public-spirited men, even where numbers are wanting, is strong; concludes, that the sinews of war, in hands that cannot use them skilfully, are of no avail.

No man of observation can have travelled, of late years, over the Continent of Europe, without being well convinced of the multiplicity and value of the resources possessed by the greater

part of Portugal, but more particularly by the provinces which compose the north of Spain; and every Officer who accompanied Sir John Moore's army, must be but too well acquainted with the feeble and inadequate manner in which such resources have been called forth and employed by the Regency of the one country, and the Provincial Juntas of the other. Of the probable consequences of this criminally weak conduct, as well as of the general apathy of the people, many facts, well calculated to attract attention, might have been advanced; but the writer of these sheets could not bring himself to enter largely on topics, the discussion of which might do injury to a most noble cause.

The points which have principally engaged his attention are, the *positions* and *operations* of the *armies* in Portugal and Spain; *occasional descriptions* of the *face* of *both Countries:* which descriptions, by the way, are accompanied with *several drawings*, *traits of the characters of their*

inhabitants, and, as was to be expected, *remarks on various occurrences connected with his own profession.*

These letters were not originally intended for the press. It, of course, became requisite to omit, as well as to alter, many passages. They have been revised under considerable disadvantages, the writer having received orders to prepare for foreign service, in less than a week after he had consented to allow them to be published: and this circumstance he mentions as an apology for the imperfections which a discerning reader cannot but discover in them.

He ought to add, that he has studiously avoided indulging in reflections that partake of party-spirit; that he has endeavoured not to extenuate, "or aught set down in malice;" and has, at all times, been actuated by a steady adherence to sacred truth.

Directions to the Binder for placing the Plates.

	Page
Route of the Army to face the Title.	
Battle of Vimiera - - - - -	14
Moorish castle of Torres Vedras - -	42
Distant view of Mafra - - -	66
Castle of Punhete - - - -	156
Bridge over the River Nissa - -	172
Pass of Villa Velha - - -	175
Bridge on the Coa River - - -	200
Roman bridge, Salamanca - - -	222
Pass in the Sierra of Sevadon - -	296
Bridge near Constantine - - -	305
Lugo - - - - - - -	313
Battle of Corunna - - - -	324

ERRATA.

Page 6—For *way* read *weigh.*

Page 81—For *nineteenth* read *ninetieth*

Page 98—For HOMER read HOME.

CONTENTS.

LETTER I. Page

Brigadier-General Anstruther's brigade arrives off Mondego. Proceeds to the Berlings. Description of these rocks. Intelligence of the battle of Roleia. Captain Gordon is dispatched to the British camp - - - - - - - - - 1

LETTER II.

Return of Captain Gordon from the British camp. Description of Peniche. Brigadier-General Anstruther's brigade is landed, and proceeds to Vimiera. Its junction covered by Major-General Spencer.—Description of the village of Vimiera. - - - - 6

LETTER III.

Advance of the French army on the morning of the 21st. British pickets are driven in—Centre attacked. Shrapnell Shells. French are charged by the fiftieth regiment, and retire to the woods. Left wing under Major-General Ferguson attacked—it repulses the enemy with the bayonet. Appearance of the field of battle. A field hospital. The armed Portuguese peasantry—their exultation at the events of the day. A walk to Vimiera by night. The effects of the battle as displayed at Vimiera - - - - 11

LETTER IV.

Poor Highland woman. Alarm at camp. Troops turn out. Arrival of the French General Kellerman with a flag of truce. Propositions for an armistice. Colonel Murray sets off for Lisbon. Sir John Moore's army arrives at Maceira. Sir Charles Cotton objects to the convention - - - - - - 22

LETTER V. Page

The field of battle of Vimiera. French modes of attack. Shrapnell shells. Rumours at camp respecting the negotiation. Landing of Sir John Moore's army. British army inspected by Sir Hew Dalrymple - - - - - - 29

LETTER VI.

The British army proceeds to Torres Vedras. Colonel Murray returns from Lisbon with the definitive convention—It is ratified by Sir Hew Dalrymple—and terminates the Campaign in Portugal. General hospital established at Torres Vedras - - - 35

LETTER VII.

A worthy Portuguese clergyman. A serious loss. Antiquity of Torres Vedras. Its Roman origin doubtful. Convent de la Grazia. Aqueduct. Romantic environs - - - - 39

LETTER VIII.

Contains a journal of the proceedings of Sir Arthur Wellesley's army, from its landing at Figueras till its arrival at Vimiera - 43

LETTER IX.

General Kellerman and his Aid-de-camps. Conduct of the French troops in Lisbon after the convention. Head-quarters remove from Cintra to Oeyras. Description of the village of Cintra. Anecdote of General Junot. Universal indignation displayed by the Portuguese towards the French. General Junot's dinner. Jealousy between Laborde and Junot—its origin. Junot's rank in society previously to the revolution - - - - 53

LETTER X.

Royal park at Mafra. Steep defile. Magnificent appearance of the royal convent of Mafra. Lunar mountains of Cintra. Fishing village of Eryceira. Bridge of Chillieros. Commencement of the grand Aqueduct of Lisbon at the village of Montelavar. Chalybeate springs. Town of Bellas. Palace of Pombeiro. Tomb of Viriatus. British camp. Illuminations at Belem—Lisbon. Election of the Regency. French troops embarking - - - 63

LETTER XI. Page

Village of Quelus—its royal palace. The vintage. State of the press in Portugal—its consequences. Successful exertions of General Beresford and Lord Proby. A specimen of French finesse - - - 70

LETTER XII.

Mafra. A characteristic anecdote. Convent of Mafra, built by King John V.: its architecture severely censured by Murphy: general impression grand: much injured by the French soldiery. Auricular confession. Suburbs of Lisbon. Benefico. Aqueduct of Alcantara. Gallegos - - - - - - 74

LETTER XIII.

Departure of Sir Hew Dalrymple for England. Character of Sir Arthur Wellesley: sketch of his public life - - - 82

LETTER XIV.

Anecdotes of the French soldiery. The rapidity of their marches. Small value attached to the lives of soldiers by French officers. Assassinated in great numbers by the Portuguese peasantry. Wretched state of the French on first reaching Lisbon. Refusal of the Bishop of Oporto to join in the Regency - - - - - 100

LETTER XV.

Lisbon: its delightful climate. Picturesque and ever varying scenery of the Tagus. Great inequality of the streets. General Kellermann: his narrow escape from the fury of the Portuguese populace. Monastery at Belem. The royal palace. Picture gallery. Antique statues 103

LETTER XVI.

Royal museum of natural history at Ajuda. Mass of native copper. Elastic sand-stone. Calcareous depositions in the aqueduct of Alcantara. Remarkable dungeon at Belem. State of the prisons in Portugal - - - - - - - 112

LETTER XVII. Page

The earthquake of 1755: appearances still existing. A votive tablet in the church of the Estrella convent. Bitumen often found in the Tagus. Thermal springs. Generosity of the British nation in 1755 still gratefully mentioned by the Portuguese. Fine trait in a Portuguese nobleman - - - - - 117

LETTER XVIII.

Sir John Moore's army setting off for Spain: marches in three divisions. Unpopular measures adopted by the Regency. Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the church of St. Roche. The Portuguese theatre - - - - - - - - 123

LETTER XIX.

The church of Mount Calvary. Road to Saccavem. Portuguese hospitality. Picturesque situation of Saccavem. Salt-works on the banks of the Tagus. Villa Franca de Xira: its origin - - 128

LETTER XX.

Village of Azambuja. City of Santarem: its antiquity: delightful situation. View over the Tagus and adjoining country - - 136

LETTER XXI.

A festival day. Processions of monks. Mode of begging practised by the monastic orders: its effects - - - - 142

LETTER XXII.

Unpleasant rumours. A Portuguese preacher. The omnipotence of the Virgin Mary. Exhortation to charity: its effects - - 145

LETTER XXIII.

Road from Santurem to Golegam. Olive grounds. Mode of collecting the olives. Herds of swine. Rainbows. Golegam. A venerable character: his hospitality. Library. Civility of the inhabitants of Golegam. Village of Cardiga. Beautiful landscape. Flourishing village of Barquinha - - - - 147

LETTER XXIV. Page

Juiz de Fora at Tancos. Situation of that town. Torre de Almourol. Figo do Inferno. River Zezera. Town of Punhete. Road to Abrantes - - - - - - 154

LETTER XXV.

Effects of the wet weather on the troops. Fine situation of Abrantes. Delightful view from the old castle. Culture of the olive tree. Bad construction of the windows in Portugal - - 158

LETTER XXVI.

Set off for Gavaon. Cross the Tagus. Appearance of Abrantes from the opposite Alenlego side. Hospitality of Donna Helena. A stormy night amidst the mountains. A goatherd's hovel in the village of Marie-Cova. Gavaon. Nissa. Doctor Assissi - - 163

LETTER XXVII.

Romantic bridge on the Rio Nissa. Solitary chapel on the Serra de St. Miguel. Cross the Tagus at the pass of Villa Velha. Gallant action performed here in 1762 - - - - 171

LETTER XXVIII.

A ford near Villa Velha. State of the road to Ascarnadas. Castel Branco. Thirty-second regiment. Portuguese army - - 176

LETTER XXIX.

Bad weather. Arrival of the fiftieth. Situation of Castel Branco. A venerable prelate. Familiarity of servants in Portugal. Tutelar Saints of Castel Branco - - - - - 181

LETTER XXX.

Village of Atalaya. Jews in Portugal. An accident. Val de Prazeras. A new subject for an artist. Singular negotiation - - 185

LETTER XXXI.

Village of Campinha. Road to Guarda. Serra de Estrella. Castanheira. Belmonte. Delightful valley. Guarda - - 191

LETTER XXXII. Page

Guarda: its climate during winter: lofty situation: founded by Sancho I. Opinions of Dumouriez and Lord Galway respecting the defence of Portugal. Character of Loisson. Atrocities perpetrated by the French at Alpedrinha. Anecdote of the Inquisition 195

LETTER XXXIII.

Almeida described. Change in the art of war. Unpromising aspect of affairs in Spain. The Spanish armies exist but in name. The Juntas: their apathy: they delay the landing of Sir David Baird's army at Corunna, under frivolous pretences. Brigadier-General Anstruther. Ignorance of the inhabitants of Almeida of the state of affairs in Spain - - - - - 200

LETTER XXXIV.

Spanish frontier. Fort de la Conception. Coa River, the natural boundary: Riba de Coa annexed by King Dennis. Change of aspect in the houses and peasants. Distant view of Cuidad Rodrigo: bridge: square tower: battlements: change of manners: superior cleanliness: costume of the inhabitants. Tartan plaiding. Butchers' shops. Spanish painters Spagnoletti, Murillio, and Velasquez 204

LETTER XXXV.

Arrival of the fiftieth regiment: Colonels Roche and Lopez. State of affairs in Spain. Defeat of Blake's army at Reynosa. Disappointment of the British. Indifference of the Spaniards - - 209

LETTER XXXVI.

Road from Cuidad Rodrigo to Salamanca. Lime-stone mountains. Village of Espiritu Santo. St. Martin's del Rio. Robeda de Castro. Village of Siette Carreros. A Leonese-farmer's fire side. Spanish hospitality - - - - - - 214

LETTER XXXVII.

Dismal state of things in Spain. Defeat of Cuesta at Burgos. French cavalry enter Valladolid. Apprehensions for the safety of General Hope's division. Apathy of the people of Salamanca. Defeat of Castanos and Palafox at Tudela. Spaniards unprepared for a change in their affairs. Count Florida Blanca. Don Thomas Morla. Excellent conduct of the British army - - - - 218

LETTER XXXVIII. Page

Description of Salamanca: its magnificent bridge partly Roman: grand appearance. The river Tormes. Pasturage of Valdios. Guadarrama mountains. Roman tower. A robber's skull. Cathedral. Ci-devant college of the Jesuits. Plaza Mayor. Plaza de Verdura. Spanish Xantippes. Pictures in the cathedral. Jealousy of the clergy. Paintings by Bayeaux. Irish college. Cloister of the barefooted Carmelites. Nunnery of St. Ursula. The nun of Guarda - 224

LETTER XXXIX.

Colonel Graham arrives from General Castanos's head-quarters: confirms the intelligence of the battle of Tudela. Probable progress of Bonaparte. Army of reserve under St. Juan posted at Somosierra. Panic and distrust evinced by the inhabitants of Madrid. Don Thomas Morla endeavours to allay the ferment. Disagreeable situation of a British officer. Sobriety and good conduct of the garrison. Pamphlet of Don Pedro Cevallos - - - - 232

LETTER XL.

Junction of Lieutenant-general Hope's division at Alva de Tormes. Enemy attacks and carries the pass of Somosierra. Fate of Madrid unknown. Sir John Moore abandons his design of retreating upon Portugal. French mail intercepted: remarks on its contents. Speculations respecting the siege of Madrid - - - 237

LETTER XLI.

Colonel Graham returns from Talavera de la Reina. The surrender of Madrid. The Duke of Castel Franco and M. de Morla suspected of treachery. Lord Paget's brigade of cavalry arrives at Zamora. State of public opinion at Salamanca - - - - 243

LETTER XLII.

Critical and embarrassing situation of Sir John Moore's army. Amiable private character of the Commander-in-chief. The Spanish army. The Spanish nation - - - - 247

LETTER XLIII. Page

British army quits Salamanca. Calizal. Alaejos. A French foraging party taken. Prisoners described. Sir John Moore proceeds to Toro. French dispatches intercepted. Miserable style of living in this part of Spain. Zamora. The banks of the Duero. Intelligence from Madrid - - - - - - 250

LETTER XLIV.

Zamora. Reflections suggested by its history. Ferdinand of Arragon. The Inquisition. Castro Nuevo. Villalpando. Valderas. A fall of snow. Mayorga. Sahagun. Lord Paget's action with a body of French cavalry - - - - - - 258

LETTER XLV.

Speculations respecting the fate of Spain. French prisoners: their dress and appearance. Superiority of the helmet over the fur cap. Their national character contrasted with that of the Spaniards. General orders issued to attack the enemy's position at Carrion. These are suddenly revoked on the arrival of a messenger from the Marquis de la Romana. Disappointment of the troops. The Duke of Dalmatia. Conduct of the Juntas. The reasoning of a Benedictine monk - 264

LETTER XLVI.

A Christmas evening at Valderas. Effects of a thaw on the road from Mayorga. Cavalry of the Madrid army arrives near Villalpando. Alarm of the Spaniards. French proclamation. Rapidity of French movements. Probable effect of Sir John Moore's march to Sahagun 271

LETTER XLVII.

Lieutenant-Generals Hope and Fraser's divisions quit Valderas. Dilemma occasioned by the conduct of the Spanish waggoners. Alarm caused by the approach of the French pickets. Misconduct of some troops on Christmas evening. Valencia de Don Juan. Ford over the river Ezla. Ruins of Don Juan's castle: murder perpetrated there. Humanity of an English soldier. Villa Maniana. March to Ponte del Orbigo. Army of Romana - - - 275

LETTER XLVIII. Page

Ponte del Orbigo. Rascality of the Spanish peasantry. Astorga. Imperial guards defeated near Benevente. General orders issued by Sir John Moore. Mystery thrown over the proceedings of the army. French system. Village of Manzanal. The Mauregatas: conjectural origin. Contrast of barbarous and civilized life. Sierra de Fuen Sevadon. Village of Sevadon. Molina Seca. Ponferrada. Valley of El Bierzo. Reach Cubillos - - - 286

LETTER XLIX.

Cubillos described. Road to Cacabellos and Villa Franca del Bierzo. Valcarsa river. Castle of the Marquis of Villa Franca. General Le Febvre. Action near Benevente. Baggage taken near Valderas. Destruction of ammunition. Celerity of the retreat. Surprize and incredulity of the Spaniards - - - - 297

LETTER L.

Road from Villa Franca del Bierzo. Pass of Sta. Magdalena. Village of Herresias. Troops disgusted at the rapidity of the retreat, but eager to engage the enemy. Mountain irrigation. Village of Cebrero. Enter Gallicia. Fatal effects of fatigue. Village of Honorias. Black hellebore. Nogalis. Bridge near Constantine. Want of horse-shoes. Officers of the Imperial guards - - 302

LETTER LI.

An old licentiate at Lugo: his philippic against the English. Arrival of Sir John Moore. Hussar shot at Villa Franca for marauding. Lieut.-General Fraser's division recalled from Sobrado. Army takes up a position in front of Lugo. Battle offered to Soult: he declines it. British retire. Guitterez. Betanzos. Bravery and spirit displayed by the stragglers - - - - - 309

LETTER LII.

Army quits Betanzos. Bridge over the Rio Mandea destroyed. Feelings excited by the view of the ocean. Bridge of Burgo. Suburbs of Corunna. Description of that port. Explosions of the powder magazines. Zeal and friendship of the inhabitants of Corunna. Loss of baggage and horses. State of public opinions - - 318

LETTER LIII. Page

The battle at Corunna, as viewed from the outer harbour. Scene on the morning of the 17th in the inner harbour. State of suspense. Death of an old acquaintance. Sick officers - - 324

LETTER LIV.

An escape from the dangers of shipwreck. Action of the 16th. Further particulars. Opinions of officers at Gosport on the celerity of the retreat. Utility to be derived from the free discussion of such questions. Lieutenant-General Hope's orders - - - 329

LETTER LV.

Apology for the conduct of the soldiery towards the Spaniards. Humanity of British soldiers exemplified at the battle of Vimiera. British and French armies contrasted. Imperial geographers. Ignorance of minute geographical details often severely felt in conducting the operations of armies. The force of opinion. Change necessary in the army of Austria: and in the conduct of affairs in Spain - - 337

LETTER LVI.

Illness and death of Brigadier-General Anstruther. Sir John Moore: his public life: interesting anecdote: elegant tribute paid to his memory by the Duke of York - - - - 343

CAMPAIGN

IN

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

LETTER I.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ANSTRUTHER'S BRIGADE ARRIVES OFF MONDEGO.—PROCEEDS TO THE BERLINGS.—DESCRIPTION OF THESE ROCKS.—INTELLIGENCE OF THE BATTLE OF ROLEIA.—CAPTAIN GORDON IS DISPATCHED TO THE BRITISH CAMP.

On board the Westmoreland transport, off the Berling rocks, Portugal, 18th August, 1808.

TO ***** *****, EXMOUTH, DEVON.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

You will perceive, from the date of this letter, that we have reached our destination, notwithstanding the gales and baffling weather which we had to encounter in the Channel and Bay of Biscay.

From my last, dated Plymouth, the first of this month, you would learn, that we had once put into Weymouth, and twice into Plymouth; from the latter of which ports we sailed on the morning of the second. By the evening of that day we had passed Falmouth with a fair wind, which unluckily proved of very short duration. However, having at length had the satisfaction of descrying over the distant horizon, the high blue mountains which form Cape Finisterre, we stood in towards the shore. Our Commodore (Captain Austin) shot a-head, and made telegraphic signals to some ships of war lying close in, after which we altered our course, and lay up along the coast of Portugal. We had been taught to expect that we should now meet with a good breeze, as the wind is said generally to blow from a northerly direction here: this opinion proved to be correct, and on the following morning, our fleet was dashing through the green billows at the rate of seven knots an hour, all sail set. In this style we proceeded till we reached a bluff head-land, which proved to be Cape Mondego.

To the southward lies the small town of Figueras, in the roadstead and harbour of which we observed a number of our transports and men of war riding at anchor. Captain Austin made the signal for his fleet to lie to, while he sailed and spoke the head-quarter ship, the Donegal, Cap-

tain Malcolm. Having returned, a signal was hoisted to make sail to the southward, in which course we continued the whole of the night; and yesterday forenoon, we arrived at this anchorage.

The rocks, off which we are now lying, are about six in number, perfectly sterile and devoid of any vegetation, except the samphire plant, which is scattered in thick tufts, over these huge blocks of red primeval granite.

On the eastern side of the island nearest the shore, stands an old castle, containing within its precincts a semi-lunar battery, on the embrasures of which are mounted a few pieces of rusty old cannon, which are in a most venerable state of decay. One would imagine they were intended rather to harmonize with the ruins of the edifice, than to annoy the ships of an enemy; since they are nearly all dismounted, and into many of their touch-holes a man's hand may be introduced with much facility. Of this Gothic structure a subaltern of our marines, with a party of twelve or fourteen men, has now the uncontrouled possession; having some days ago succeeded to about as many ragged Portuguese, its former inhabitants. With a few books one might here make oneself an absolute recluse, and yet enjoy many of the substantial comforts of this life: for the little garrison is well supplied

with hogs, sheep, fruit, &c., by the fishing boats from Penichè, which resort hither to catch a species of mackarel that abound near the rocks. We have just had out of one of these little zebecs, now paddling about the fleet, a tolerable sized basket of mackarel, for the trifling sum of one shilling.

On our arrival here we found his Majesty's ship Alfred, commanded by Captain Bligh, with a convoy of victuallers, store, and hospital ships, moving along the coast, for the purpose of supplying the wants of General Wellesley's army: and through them we had our curiosity gratified as to the cause of a tremendous heavy fire of artillery and musketry, which we yesterday heard along the shore. It arose, we were told, from an eagerly contested action, which the gallant General had with the French troops, under Laborde; the result of which is most glorious to our countrymen, who, with more than their usual gallantry, drove the French, posted along some almost inaccessible heights, in all directions. The enemy's fire is said to have been very severe and galling, and to have been checked by our troops solely with the bayonet.

The consequences of this victory, which took place near Obidos, have been the capture of three pieces of cannon, and the retreat of the French army, to a position much

nearer Lisbon; while ours has made a considerable a-d vance.

Brigadier-general Anstruther has dispatched his Aid-de-camp, Captain Gordon, to acquaint Sir Arthur Wellesley with our arrival: and we expect to be landed, immediately upon Captain Gordon's return, for which we are all very impatient.

LETTER II.

RETURN OF CAPTAIN GORDON FROM THE BRITISH CAMP.—DESCRIPTION OF PENICHE.—BRIGADIER-GENERAL ANSTRUTHER'S BRIGADE IS LANDED AND PROCEEDS TO VIMIERA.—ITS JUNCTION COVERED BY MAJOR-GENERAL SPENCER.—DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGE OF VIMIERA.

19*th August*, 1808.

CAPTAIN GORDON is returned, and the whole fleet is now under way, steering into the Bay of Penichè, where we shall land. There being hardly any wind, it must be late in the evening before the troops get on shore.

The appearance of the coast, as far as we have hitherto proceeded, is by no means agreeable. We behold an arid, sandy beach, diversified with long rushy grass, but destitute of trees and shrubs, and for the most part flat and uninteresting. The fleet is now passing the town and fortifications of Penichè; which last are pretty extensive, and favorably situated on the rocky summit of a peninsula. The garrison is said to consist of eight hundred Swiss, extremely disaffected to their French despots; from whom, it is added, they daily desert to join our army. We observe a number of them at this moment on the works

gazing at our movements; and one solitary shot has been fired at a transport, which, owing to the light breeze, and her being an indifferent sailer, has drifted closer to the shore than could have been wished. She happens, however, to be without the reach of their ball, which has dropped short in the water. Adieu; I shall continue this letter from the shore.

Village of Vimiera, 20th August, 1808.

Between the hours of five and six yesterday evening, our fleet, led in by the Alfred and St. Albans, had come to an anchor in the Bay of Penichè. Every boat was immediately at work, and by nine or ten o'clock all the troops had reached the beach. They landed about two thousand four hundred in number, all in high health and spirits, with the exception of one corps, which had been obliged to leave behind a few men affected with opthalmia. The transport in which I sailed, containing about forty officers' horses, had been placed as close in as the shallowness of the water would permit, for the convenience of swimming the cavalry ashore.

Among the first lifted from the hold and committed to the briny deep, was a very beautiful mare, the property of General Anstruther; which, owing to the awkwardness of

the grooms and sailors, was some time in the water before it could be disengaged from the slings; and the distance it had to swim being considerable, it sunk before it could make the shore. A repetition of this accident was prevented by the foresight of Captain Bligh, who immediately sent a large launch, in which the remaining horses were conveyed to *terra firma* in safety.

The spot where we landed is a sandy beach, at the foot of an almost perpendicular cliff. On the summit are the ruins of an old quadrangular fort, to which we were conducted by a narrow winding path, very steep and difficult of ascent. Behind, lies a heath, where we took up our abode for the night. The firmament spread its boundless expanse over our heads, without one cloud to obscure its twinkling brilliancy; while the remote horizon gleamed with the fires of the British camp, exciting many singular and thrilling emotions. The busy hum of the troops soon ceasing, I wrapped myself in a boat cloak, and sunk to repose; happy in having exchanged the noisome and damp cabin of a transport, for the fragrant heaths of Portugal: and ere the morning had begun to warm the eastern sky, we were on our march.

The road which leads to this place (if road it can be called), is rugged and steep, winding along the sinuosities

of the coast. The country near this road is bare and unpleasant to the eye; and but for its novelty often compensating for the absence of other qualities, must be allowed to be very uninteresting. Yet in some of the valleys are scattered little villages, whose white walls glitter from amidst the dark foliage of laurels and olive trees; while the commons, covered with heaths, myrtles, and gum cistus, pour forth their fragrance before the ardent rays of the sun.

Our march, although only twelve miles, had, from the excessive heat of the day, begun to be fatiguing before we reached Lourinha. On the side of a hill near that village we met a party of British and Portuguese cavalry, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Taylor, who had been sent out to protect us against a body of French dragoons, who were reconnoitring on the heights upon our left, and appeared strongly inclined to attack us. However, our apprehensions were soon quieted; for, arriving at a small village, the name I have now forgotten, but the higher ground of which is crowned with a windmill, we found Major-General Spencer, with two brigades of infantry, and some flying artillery, waiting to receive us. The enemy allowed us to descend the hill which leads to this place without opposition.

Vimiera is beautifully situated in a romantic fertile valley, within three miles of the sea, from which it is screened by some lofty mountains, between which runs a small stream, named Maceira. Our army is posted on the sides and summits of the surrounding hills, in a crescent-like form. In the centre is the village, with the commissariat, oxen, provisions, stores, and heavy artillery; and to the southward, on a small eminence, is posted the advanced guard, forming nearly the chord of the segment. The spectacle is altogether the most novel and beautiful I have seen: but, feeling it impossible to convey any thing like an adequate idea of its appearance in writing, I shall endeavour to sketch it with my pencil, at the same time that I am aware it would require the powers of a Poussin to do it justice. The town itself seems deserted by the Portuguese, who, I suppose, dread the result of the engagement, which is daily, nay, hourly, looked for.

Orders have just been issued to move to-morrow, an hour before day-break.

I shall conclude this letter by assuring you how faithfully I ever am your's.

LETTER III.

ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON THE MORNING OF THE 21ST.—BRITISH PICKETS ARE DRIVEN IN—CENTRE ATTACKED—SHRAPNELL SHELLS:—FRENCH ARE CHARGED BY THE FIFTIETH REGIMENT, AND RETIRE TO THE WOODSS—LEFT WING UNDER MAJOR-GENERAL FERGUSON ATTACKED—IT REPULSES THE ENEMY WITH THE BAYONET. APPEARANCE OF THE FIELD OF BATTLE.—A FIELD HOSPITAL.—THE ARMED PORTUGUESE PEASANTRY—THEIR EXULTATION AT THE EVENTS OF THE DAY.—A WALK TO VIMIERA BY NIGHT.—THE EFFECTS OF THE BATTLE AS DISPLAYED AT VIMIERA.

Village of Vimiera, 22d August, 1808.

THE intelligence which I now have to communicate, must, I am well assured, afford you the most heartfelt pleasure.

The whole French army, commanded by Junot in person, was yesterday completely routed in the neighbourhood of this village. Thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, together with the greater part of the wounded, including a general officer named Berneire, have fallen into our hands.

In my last letter I stated that orders had been issued to move forward on the succeeding morning, but before

midnight these were recalled, in consequence, as I have since learnt, of the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard from England, in the Brazen sloop of war.

The troops, as usual, turned out under arms an hour before day-break, and no alarm took place till about eight o'clock, when it was announced that our pickets on the Lourinha road were attacked. However, as no great bustle ensued, I breakfasted quietly with a few friends, and then walked out with the intention of purchasing a mule, an animal here of some importance. Passing along the streets of the village, I heard several officers assert that the French were approaching in great force to attack the position; while others thought that it would prove merely an affair of pickets. Still the noise of the musketry fire seemed to approach, and several movements to be taking place among the troops on the heights. At length the discharge of artillery commenced, when I determined to get on the heights, where our left wing was posted, and to which they had just removed from the valley the heavy artillery. On crossing the fields, in which were placed the waggons, oxen, and commissariat stores, all was bustle and activity. Having reached the spot where the brigade of guns was posted, I had a complete view of the whole scene; a scene, the grandest and most picturesque you can well imagine.

The valley, village, and the extent of its beautiful and romantic environs, were stretched beneath my eye as on a plan. The atmosphere was serene, the sun blazed forth from a blue and silvery sky, streaked with fleecy clouds, and I could distinctly perceive every motion of the contending armies.

The French were at this moment advancing, in several columns, from the eastward, under cover of some pine woods, driving in our pickets and riflemen, who retreated to a height situated to the southward of Vimiera, on which were posted the centre or advanced guard of our army. It was composed of Brigadier-General Fane's brigade of riflemen, Brigadier-General Anstruther's brigade, and the fiftieth regiment.

On these columns of French a tremendous fire was kept up by the artillery belonging to the centre, which was placed in front of two white windmills on the height. The fire was returned by the guns of the enemy with great spirit; but it was evident that our artillery was much better served than theirs, and that the carnage caused by the lately invented Shrapnell shells was prodigious. Nevertheless they continued to advance with great intrepidity, till they were charged in a most gallant manner by

the fiftieth regiment, on which they turned their backs, and fled to the woods in all directions.

At this time another party, who were advancing into the road which enters Vimiera from the northward, were met, and repulsed with great loss, by the second battalion of the forty-third. This battalion had been stationed near church, in order to prevent the enemy from entering the the village; as it appeared to be their design, in attacking our centre, to penetrate through Vimiera, and possess themselves of our baggage and commissariat stores.

On the right of the centre, the enemy were checked by the bayonets of the ninety-second regiment, and second battalion the fifty-second; and in these operations Brigadier-Gen. Acland's brigade, which had only landed at Maceira during the night, and was passing along the valley to arrive on the heights, lent a very well-timed, effectual assistance; and the heavy artillery, lately brought up from the valley, did immense execution—the Shrapnell shells making considerable gaps in the enemy's columns.

On giving way, the enemy were pursued by the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, who charged them with his small body of horse in the most daring style, and cut them

Drawn by Adam Neale M.D

Neale sc. Strand

BATTLE OF VIMEIRA.

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down in great numbers. Sorry am I to add that, in performing this service, he lost his valuable life. A great proportion of his men fell with him.

While these things were going forward in the centre, I had advanced considerably to the left, and had got in the rear of my old Monte Videan friends the fortieth, who, with the thirty-sixth and seventy-first regiments, composed the brigade commanded by Major-Gen. Ferguson, which was the left of our army. Brigadier-Gen. C. Crawfurd's brigade, with some Portuguese troops, covered their left flank, on the opposite side of a deep ravine. Here the enemy came up with great impetuosity. They were first opposed in front by our riflemen, whom they drove in. Coming up, however, with Major-General Ferguson's division, they received a tremendous volley, and were shortly after brought to the charge. This was an operation their nerves could not withstand, and they immediately gave way. Our troops pursued them with eagerness, killed and wounded an immense number, and took several pieces of cannon.

The action commenced about half past nine, and terminated a little after twelve o'clock. Close to the spot where Major-General Ferguson's brigade received the attack of the French, stood a small farm house, into which it had been determined to carry the wounded. Thither I

repaired, and witnessed a scene the most distressing. Around the building, whose interior was crowded with the wounded, lay a number of poor fellows in the greatest agony, not only from the anguish of their wounds (many of which were deplorable), but from the intense heat of the sun, which increased the parching fever induced by pain and loss of blood. Two fig-trees afforded the scanty blessing of a sort of shade to the few who were huddled together beneath their almost leafless branches. Over the surrounding field lay scattered the fragments of arms, and military equipments of every description—caps, muskets, swords, bayonets, belts, and cartouch-boxes covered the ground; on which were also stretched, in many an awful group, the friend and foe, the dying and the dead. The same capacious grave soon after received the natives of very different climes,—men who had drawn their first breath on the banks of the Thames, or the Tiber; the Seine, or the Vistula. How unaccountable are those dispensations of Providence, by which beings, totally unknown to one another, are thus assembled, from regions the most remote, for the dire purpose of mutual destruction.

On entering the cottage to survey the sadly interesting group within, I recognized, amid the gloom of an inner apartment, the features of an officer with whom I was for-

merly well acquainted. On approaching he recollected me, and pointed to the spot where the fatal lead had entered. I was happy to perceive that the wound was not immediately dangerous, and instantly tendered him my services. The ball had been extracted by a surgeon. He pressed my hand, and thanked me, while in his dim eye there glistened a grateful tear, which he turned his head aside to conceal. I repeated the assurances which he had before received from his surgeon, that his wound was not mortal, and having advised a bleeding, which was instantly performed, I quitted him, to offer my services to any of those around who might require them.

I could be useful, I found, to a great many who, but for my interference in a duty and department not strictly my own, might have remained for many hours in excessive pain.

To several, a simple inspection of their wounds, with a few words of consolation, or perhaps a little opium, was all that could be done or recommended. Of these brave men the balls had pierced organs essentially connected with life; and in such cases, prudence equally forbids the rash interposition of unavailing art, and the useless indulgence of delusive hope.

On going over the house, I discovered, that by opening a door which led into a large space appropriated to the operations of the vintage, and removing the empty wine pipes which it contained, many of the unfortunate sufferers might have the advantage of being removed from beneath the burning influence of the sun. I inquired, therefore, for the proprietors of the dwelling, in order to procure the keys; but I soon found that at the commencement of the battle they had fled, and abandoned their home to its fate. I was accordingly obliged to have recourse to some of the pioneers, employed in the office of burying the dead, whose hatchets soon forced an entrance; and having caused the contents to be removed, with as little injury as possible to the owners, and a large quantity of heath to be spread over the damp floor, I had as many of the wounded brought in as the apartment could contain.

While this was going on, our victorious troops were returning to their lines, from the pursuit of the discomfited foe; who, after having ineffectually rallied and attempted to retake his guns, had retired to the north-east in great disorder, and was hastening to regain Torres Vedras, by the high road which leads from thence to Lourinha.

The armed Portuguese peasantry, who, during the day

had been prowling about the field of battle, immolating in secret many of their wounded Gallic oppressors, were now collecting around the cottage. Our fears were awakened for our wounded, but particularly for the prisoners who had fallen into our hands; who, from a knowledge of the disposition of the Portuguese, and knowing what little mercy they had a right to expect at their hands, were apprehensive of being butchered during the night. A representation of the matter was sent to the camp, and the speedy appearance of a subaltern's guard, relieved us from this disagreeable situation.

Another care remained—that of providing a little warm gruel, or soup, for the unfortunate sufferers, who, parched with thirst during the long day, had scarcely been able to procure a drop of water to moisten their clammy lips. A poor Highland woman, the wife of a non-commissioned officer of the 71st regiment, whose leg had been amputated, assisted me in ransacking the house; and we fortunately found a little Indian corn, and a quantity of tallow and hemp; by means of the latter we eked out a few lamps. I left her to distribute to each of the wounded a small portion of the liquid she had made for them, and to attend to their wants during the night. An hospital mate was likewise left in charge of them till the morning, and not until eleven o'clock at P. M. I left them to proceed to-

wards the village, accompanied by Staff Surgeon F*****. The night was so dark, that it was necessary to have recourse to a Portuguese guide. By this time the peasantry had assembled, and were carousing around a large fire in the neighbourhood, boasting to each other, in high glee and spirits, the number of Frenchmen they had severally put to death. From the time of my breakfast till the hour before mentioned, I had been unceasingly engaged in my professional avocations, and the drop of sour wine from one of their leathern bottles, which they were circulating among each other with great rapidity, and which they solicited me to partake of, seemed to my palate at that moment more grateful than any Burgundy I had ever tasted. After many intreaties, we prevailed on one of them to shew us the road to Vimiera, two miles distant. We then armed ourselves with one of the long poles of quince-tree wood, which the peasants make use of to assist them in skipping over the ditches, and embankments of the vineyards.

On crossing the fields to get into the Lourinha road, I shuddered as we involuntarily stumbled over many an unburied corse of man and horse. We found the road almost impassable from the number of tumbrils and artillery waggons of the enemy, which were broken down in every direction. Our ears were saluted on passing the

church-yard by the heavy moaning and exclamations of the wounded French, with whom the church and the cemetry were crowded—*Ah, mon Dieu, mon Dieu, le sang coule, je meurs, je meurs.* At length, with a good deal of difficulty, we reached Vimiera. The streets of the village were choaked up by the long line of oxen-wains, bearing in from the fields the wounded, whose haggard countenances appeared more wretched from the glare of the torches which blazed around them, and increased the horrors of the impressive scene.

Having requested the Commissary-general to send some bread and wine to the cottage on the hill, and taken a little refreshment, F***** and I retired to our straw pallets, completely exhausted by the duties of the day.

LETTER IV.

POOR HIGHLAND WOMAN.—ALARM AT CAMP.—TROOPS TURN OUT.—ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH GENERAL KELLERMANN WITH A FLAG OF TRUCE.—PROPOSITIONS FOR AN ARMISTICE.—COLONEL MURRAY SETS OFF FOR LISBON.—SIR JOHN MOORE'S ARMY ARRIVES AT MACEIRA.—SIR CHARLES COTTON OBJECTS TO THE CONVENTION.

Village of Amial, 23rd August, 1808.

EARLY in the forenoon of yesterday I returned to the field hospital, in company with two other medical officers. During my absence the souls of several had winged their flight to "another and a better world." On inquiring of the survivors how they had passed the night, and whether their wants had been attended to, they answered with one voice in the affirmative; concluding with so strong an eulogium on the poor Highland woman's benevolence and assiduity towards them, that it brought forcibly to my recollection that beautiful passage in Marmion.

> O woman, in our hours of ease,
> Uncertain, coy, and hard to please;
> And variable as the shade
> By the light quivering aspen made;
> When pain and anguish wring the brow,
> A ministering angel thou.

Having discharged my duty at the hospital, and taken a list of the corps and numbers of the wounded, I pro-

ceeded to visit a house further to the left, which was occupied by the French soldiery. In general they appeared to be more desperately wounded than our men; many of them being shot in both legs, besides being stabbed in the trunk.

Having procured a statement of their numbers, I was preparing to return to Vimiera, when several soldiers belonging to the pickets, gave the alarm that the French were again advancing. A moving cloud of dust at some distance was visible to the naked eye, on the high road which leads from Torres Vedras to Lourinha; and with a telescope I could distinctly perceive a considerable body of cavalry approaching. On returning to Vimiera I passed through our lines, where I found the drums beating to arms and the troops falling in. I was greatly surprised, I confess to you, as I did not conceive the French were in a situation to renew the attack; nor could I suppose they were willing to hazard the repetition of the drubbing which they had received only the day before. Shortly after my return to the village, a flag of truce was announced, bringing in General Kellerman, who was conducted to Sir Arthur Wellesley's quarters, who, by the bye, is now only third in command, Sir Harry Burrard having landed from the Brazen sloop on the morning of the 21st, soon after the commencement of the action, and Sir Hew Dalrymple

just arrived from Gibraltar, to assume the command in chief. In a multitude of counsellors, says the proverb, there is wisdom; but I strongly suspect the present case will not illustrate the prediction of old. General Kellerman is said to be the bearer of propositions from Junot for an armistice, and our Generals were met for some time in debate on the subject.

It having been yesterday in orders, that the army was to advance, and our wounded to be sent by sea to Oporto, together with the French officers who had been taken prisoners, I was charged with the duty of removing to the beach all those who were in the field hospital on the hill. The wounded French soldiers were to be left behind at Vimiera, under the care of some officers of the British hospital staff.

About forty waggons, and a subaltern's guard, were therefore dispatched to the hill on the left; and towards sunset, having collected the wounded, and placed them on litters in the cars, we set off for the beach; which we were unable to reach before midnight, owing partly to the stupidity of the Portuguese peasants, who conducted us by a very rugged bad road, but principally to the slowness and caution with which it was necessary to proceed with the poor fellows; many of whom suffered severely from

the jolting of the wretched vehicles on which they were placed.

On reaching the shore, we found a number of our sailors, with lanthorns in their hands, busily employed in removing into the boats the wounded from Vimiera. It was highly gratifying to me to witness the very attentive and humane manner in which this service was performed by these kind honest-hearted tars; who, during the whole of a very cold night, were wading nearly up to the middle in the wash of the sea. Fortunately the surf was moderate; and owing to their great exertions, by ten o'clock this morning I had seen the last of my charge sent off to the hospital ships appropriated for their reception.

On returning to Vimiera I found the rear and baggage of the army moving off; Brigadier-General Crawford's brigade alone being left to keep up a communication with the shore.

Our march from Vimiera hither, led us along an open flat about a mile in extent, on the banks of the River Maceira, till we reached a small village, the name of which has escaped me. From thence the ground for some distance was unequal and rugged; but then we entered a forest of pines, the opening glades, and little valleys of

which are finely laid out in patches of corn land and vineyards.

Our position here is taken up among some heights, in the rear of which are two small villages, the greater called Ramalhal, the less Amial. In the former Sir Hew Dalrymple has established his head-quarters. In our front lies Torres Vedras, from which we are distant about three miles. The hills and adjoining country are richly covered with fine woods, with the branches of which our soldiers are erecting huts for their accommodation.

I have been informed within these two hours, that a suspension of arms was last night concluded between our Commander-in-Chief and the French General Kellermann, for the purpose of arranging the terms of a convention, by which the French are to evacuate Portugal. Colonel Murray, the quarter-master-general, set off early this morning for Lisbon, to communicate the articles of the suspension to Sir Charles Cotton, who commands the fleet off the Tagus.

The little river Sisera, which runs past Torres Vedras, forms the line of demarcation between the hostile armies; Torres Vedras itself is not to be occupied by either party, and forty-eight hours' notice must be given before hostili-

ties can recommence. This is the substance of the information I have been able to collect.

25th.—Colonel Murray returned last night, and it is rumoured this morning, that serious objections respecting the convention, have been started by Sir Charles Cotton.

Yesterday evening intelligence was brought to camp that Sir John Moore's army (whose arrival we have been expecting many days), had reached the bay of Maceira; and I this morning rode down to the shore, with the intention of visiting my friend F****, who is attached to that army. On reaching the landing-place, I found the surf so great, that no boat could come ashore until the turn of the tide, which took place in less than an hour, when I observed two boats rowing towards the land. After rising on one or two waves, and pulling hastily on their oars, the first boat broached broadside to, and in an instant was precipitated head-foremost into the waves. All of us who were on the beach went immediately to their assistance, and they were soon brought ashore, with no other inconvenience than a few bruises and wet jackets.

The Deal boatmen appear to understand the manage-

ment of boats in a surf better than any men I have ever met with. They seldom or never meet with such an accident. Their practice is not to pull their oars quick when in the surf, but, by a mere paddling motion, prevent the boat from broaching too, while the action of the waves heaves them on the shore.

The mischance which had just befallen the first boat, made the crew of the second hesitate for a while whether they would attempt a debarkation. They did attempt one—they followed their companions' track, and were all soused in the same manner.

In the first boat were two officers, one of whom was Captain Miller, General Clinton's aid-de-camp, the other Mr. Bradford, chaplain to the forces, who, after drying themselves in the sun, rode with us to the camp.

LETTER V.

THE FIELD OF BATTLE OF VIMIERA.—FRENCH MODES OF ATTACK.—SHRAPNELL SHELLS.—RUMOURS AT CAMP RESPECTING THE NEGOTIATION.—LANDING OF SIR JOHN MOORE'S ARMY.—BRITISH ARMY INSPECTED BY SIR HEW DALRYMPLE.—GENERAL ORDERS.

Amial, August 27th.

I YESTERDAY rode to Vimiera, and made a sketch of the field of battle, from the spot where I stood at the beginning of the engagement. I shall forward it to you with this letter, that by referring to it you may be the better enabled to understand the short description I have given of the scene.

In the centre of the drawing is represented the village of Vimiera, to the southward of which, beyond the two windmills, are posted the brigades of Brigadiers-General Fane and Anstruther, who are forcing the enemy to retreat to the woods; while a party of French is seen advancing by the valley to the left of the village, and are opposed to Brigadier-General Acland's brigade. This corps is at this moment passing through the valley to arrive at the heights,

on which stands Sir Arthur Wellesley, near the brigade of heavy artillery lately brought up from the valley, and which, by a well-directed fire, are flanking the column of French opposed to Brigadier-General Acland. On the left is the twenty-ninth regiment, the rear of General Ferguson's column. At the head of the valley stands a small village named Toledo (from the high grounds beyond which Junot viewed and directed the action); and in the remote distance to the right, lie the heights of Torres Vedras.

In riding over the fields about Vimiera, I found the atmosphere completely infected by the dreadful effluvia, arising from the bodies of the dead. I observed the vultures, which abound in this country, busily employed in removing the sandy soil, in which they had been interred.

The village is quite deserted, except by the medical officers, who are left to superintend the wounded prisoners. The latter amount to 330, and are accommodated in the church and adjoining houses.

The attack made by the French on the 17th, differed in an important particular from that of the 21st. In the battle of Roleia they advanced in *echellon*, while at Vimiera

their order of attack was in column. The former mode is reckoned the most destructive, and difficult to oppose; though to the latter they appear to have of late given a preference, in their wars with Austria and Prussia. The very superior manner in which Sir Arthur Wellesley made his dispositions was such, as completely to foil the French in their repeated attempts to execute the orders of Junot, which were—" to drive the English into the sea."

The Shrapnell shells were mentioned in my account of the battle of Vimiera, but I ought to have told you, at the same time, that they were invented by a colonel of the royal artillery, whose name they bear. Each shell contains above 100 musket-balls; and they are formed so as to explode at a given distance, when they produce a most destructive effect. Indeed, many officers are of opinion, that should their composition ever become generally known, they would produce a material change in modern tactics. I sincerely hope, therefore, that the advantages derivable from this most important invention will long remain exclusively our own.

We are at this moment in a state of great suspense respecting the negotiation; and in the absence of all authentic particulars, we are amused at camp with a variety of contradictory reports. According to the latest of these,

our Commander-in-Chief has fixed a term to the armistice, in case Junot should persist in his proposals relative to the Russian fleet.

In the mean time, Sir John Moore's army continues to land as promptly as the immense swell and heavy surf will permit. Unfortunately many boats have been swampt, and several lives lost in this precarious service.

In the evening of yesterday, the whole of the line, consisting of nearly 30,000 men, turned out under arms, for the inspection of Sir Hew Dalrymple. The weather was delightful, and the *coup-d'œil* truly magnificent. Our gaily dressed troops, extending two miles in open column, wheeled in an instant into line, the various bands struck up the favourite national air of "God save the King," and the echoes of the pine-clad hills returned the clang of presented arms. Home, in his tragedy of Douglas, has, with great propriety and beauty, described a similar scene in the following lines:—

> The setting sun
> With yellow radiance lighten'd all the vale,
> And as the warriors moved, each polish'd helm,
> Corslet, or spear, glanc'd back his gilded beams:
> The hill they climb'd, and halting at its top
> Of more than mortal size, tow'ring they seem'd
> An host angelic, clad in burning arms.——

Every eye seemed to express regret as the gallant Sir Arthur Wellesley rode along the ranks, and publicly resigned the command of his victorious troops to the Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar. Adieu.

I shall subjoin to this letter a copy of the general orders, which have this day been issued by Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, Ramalhal, 27th Aug. 1808.

PAROLE——PORTUGAL.

The rapid and skilful march, performed by the army commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, marked in its progress by the talent of the General, and the gallantry of the troops, and terminated by a victory greatly glorious to both, seemed to have accomplished the immediate object in view, without further operation in the field.

Should that expectation be disappointed, the army will again advance, greatly augmented by the arrival of troops, much more valuable from their composition than their numbers; and if by this means there will remain less opportunity for the army at large to acquire renown,

by the encounter of an enemy so greatly inferior in force, there will be greater occasion to display patience and cheerfulness, under such privations as the exhausted state of the country, and other circumstances, must necessarily produce.

(Signed) H. Clinton.
Adjutant-General.

LETTER VI.

THE BRITISH ARMY PROCEEDS TO TORRES VEDRAS. — COLONEL MURRAY RETURNS FROM LISBON WITH THE DEFINITIVE CONVENTION—IT IS RATIFIED BY SIR HEW DALRYMPLE—AND TERMINATES THE CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL.—GENERAL HOSPITAL ESTABLISHED AT TORRES VEDRAS.

Torres Vedras, 1st Sept. 1808.

General Wellesley, on the morning of the 27th, moved on from Ramalhal with his division, to occupy some heights close to this town. The main body followed on the 30th, in the contemplation, as I conceive, of the recommencement of hostilities.

Colonel Murray returned yesterday from Lisbon, with the definitive convention, which has been so long negotiating, for the evacuation of this country by the French army. It has at length been ratified by Sir Hew Dalrymple, the Commander-in-Chief; and Lord Proby has set off for Lisbon, with the counterpart for Junot. The basis of it, according to report is, that the French shall have permission to retain their arms, and that we are to

procure ships to convey them with an unlimited quantity of baggage, to France. It therefore bears a resemblance to the treaty by which the French army was permitted to evacuate Egypt. Should it be so, it is no difficult task to foretel how it will be received in England, after the public expectation shall have been so highly raised by the brilliant victories of Roleia and Vimiera.

Some extraordinary reports are in circulation respecting the conclusion of the latter of these battles. It is said, that had Sir Arthur Wellesley been permitted to follow the tendency of his own judgment, the campaign in Portugal would, in all probability, have terminated as gloriously for the British arms as it had commenced.

It is said to have been Sir Arthur's decided opinion, that the French army ought to have been pursued in its retreat by the five brigades on the left wing of the army, while the three brigades on the right, commanded by Major-General Hill, and Brigadiers-General Fane and Anstruther, ought to have been pushed on to the heights around this town, a position very strong, and which they must have reached before Junot could come up with the broken remains of his troops. In fact, the brigades on the right were considerably nearer to Torres Vedras (as the crow flies), than the French. Had this measure been

adopted, Junot must either have taken another and circuitous road to Lisbon, or he must have fought a second battle in the defiles near this town, which would most likely have ended in the entire destruction of his army. In this opinion, Sir Arthur Wellesley was overruled by Sir Harry Burrard, who alleged as reasons for his dissent, the reduced state of our small body of cavalry, and the wretched condition of the artillery horses.

Non mihi est tantas componere lites.

Yet I must observe, that in general the officers seem to regret that Sir Arthur Wellesley's advice was not followed; and every account which we have since had respecting the miserable plight in which the French troops entered this town after their defeat, proves the justness of the grounds upon which Sir Arthur had formed his decision. All this will be known in England ere long, and will no doubt afford ample matter of speculation for your military and political *quidnuncs* for many days to come.

The campaign in this country may therefore be considered as now brought to a termination, and the next operations of the army in Portugal will consist in drawing a cordon round Lisbon, to superintend the embarkation of the French troops.

Report says, that we are then to direct our march towards Spain, and to give our assistance to the Spaniards.

There are two routes from hence to Lisbon: one by Cobral de Monte Garee, the other by Mafra. Sir Arthur Wellesley set off yesterday by the former, and Sir Hew Dalrymple will remove this day his head quarters to the latter.

I remain here to superintend the establishment of a general hospital, which is now indispensably requisite, as the numbers on the sick list have increased considerably within these few days. This I attribute chiefly to the torrents of rain which have fallen since the date of my last letter, and inundated the huts of the soldiers, who have had no opportunity of drying their clothes. In spite of all the silly clamour which has lately been raised against the establishment of general hospitals, their utility is great, and with men on service, undeniable. The French attempted to do without them at the beginning of the last war, but the experiment failed. Adieu.

LETTER VII.

A WORTHY PORTUGUESE CLERGYMAN.—A SERIOUS LOSS.—ANTIQUITY OF TORRES VEDRAS.—ITS ROMAN ORIGIN DOUBTFUL.—CONVENT DE LA GRAZIA.—AQUEDUCT.—ROMANTIC ENVIRONS.

Torres Vedras, 8th Sept. 1808.

I EMBRACE the opportunity afforded by my friend Y's return to England, to acquaint you that I am well; and as happy as my anxiety for letters from you will permit. My situation here is by no means unpleasant, having been so fortunate as to form an acquaintance with a very worthy Portuguese clergyman, named Bertrand, who has invited me to reside in his house. There are two other English officers under his roof; and as the old gentleman speaks French fluently, we make up a sociable *partie quarré*.

My stay here is likely to be of short duration, for the moment a general hospital can be formed at Lisbon, all the sick under my care are to be removed thither.

As I make you acquainted with all my little distresses, I must not omit to tell you, that I am now deploring the loss of a most excellent *mule*, which some body took the

liberty of appropriating to himself, the day after my arrival here. I regret the animal, not solely for the seventy dollars I had given for him only two days before; but on his own account, as he was, as far as I know, the most gentle and tractable of his species. I had promised myself many a contemplative and pleasant excursion in his company, among the picturesque and romantic scenery, in the midst of which I am now situated. In short, I lament him pretty nearly as much as Sancho did his ass: and although I do not exactly wish that he may endanger the rogue's neck who deprived me of him, it certainly is no want of charity to indulge a hope that he may not have much enjoyment in his new acquisition. But here I must say with Racine, "*arrete, ma plume*:" and I trust you will excuse this ebullition of my chagrin.

I here tread on classic ground; this town is one of the oldest in Portugal; it is finely seated on a rising eminence nearly in the midst of a valley, through which flows a purling stream, named Sisera, whose banks are covered with alders and aspen-leaved poplars. A ruinous castle, which appears to be of Moorish origin, still nods on the summit of a small hill, and overlooks the valley and town. The scene has been hallowed by the Muse of Camoens, who in his immortal epic, when enumerating the conquests of Alphonso, Henriquez proceeds:

"When Lisboa's towers before the Lusian fell,
What fort, what rampart might his arms repel!
Estremadura's region owns him lord,
And TORRES VEDRAS bends beneath his sword."

MICKLE'S LUSIAD, Book iii.

Dumourier, in his Etat de Portugal, asserts, that this town was formerly a Roman præsidium. Of this opinion no corroborative proofs exist at the present day; as there are no remains of Roman antiquity to be found in the town or neighbourhood.

The houses are mean and ruinous; they contain a population not exceeding 2,200 inhabitants. Four churches, as many convents, and one hospital, constitute the public buildings.

The convent de la Grazia, belonging to the Augustine order, now contains our field hospital. Their church, which is handsome, and covered with a profusion of gilding and some miserable paintings, is now converted into a Commissariat store.

Torres Vedras is supplied with water by means of a small aqueduct of white marble, which collects the springs on a hill about half a mile to the eastward of the town. The aqueduct, in its course, throws arches over the Sisera and the road leading to Lisbon by Cobral de Monte Goree. I frequently amuse myself in sketching the romantic ap-

proaches to the town, and shall now send you a view of the castle as it appears from the north-east. In the foreground, which is a forest composed of pineasters and sea-pines, I have endeavoured to convey an idea of the picturesque appearance of our army, hutted beneath the loppings of these trees.* Behind the castle appear some very high grounds, clothed with vineyards to their summit; beyond which are the shores of the Atlantic, and the little harbour of Porto Novo.

These mountains abound with veins of the most beautiful marble; of which I shall endeavour to send you a few specimens. I hope to hear from you soon. Adieu.

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* *Pinus pinea* and *pinus maritima* Gerardi. The fruit of the former tree contains a pleasant kernel, resembling that of the pistachio nut. It is commonly eaten in Portugal and the southern parts of Europe, where this tree abounds. In Italy it is generally known by the name of the Italian pine.

Drawn by Adam Neale, M.D.

Heath, sculp

MOORISH CASTLE,
at Torres Vedras.

Published June 15. 1809, by Richard Phillips, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London.

LETTER VIII.

CONTAINS A JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY'S ARMY, FROM ITS LANDING AT FIGUERAS TILL ITS ARRIVAL AT VIMIERA.

Torres Vedras, 10th September, 1808.

SUCH is the sameness of the life I lead here, that it could not afford you any amusement were I to describe it. I shall therefore transcribe a journal which I have received from a friend, who landed at Figueras with Sir Arthur Wellesley, and which will put you in possession of the history of the campaign, previously to my arrival in this country.

I shall write to you again in a few days.—Adieu.

Journal of the events which occurred from the landing of SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY'S *Army at Figueras.*

On Tuesday the 9th of August, 1808, at four o'clock A. M. the troops under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Figueras; after having remained there for some time, waiting the arrival of General Spencer, who

hove in sight, from Cadiz, on the 7th. The army, joined by this reinforcement, commenced its march towards Lisbon, and arrived at the village of St. Jean de Rue at two o'clock the same day, where they halted for that night. No particular occurrence took place on the march. The troops reached their resting place in good order, and apparently without much fatigue.

On the morning of the 10th they quitted St. Jean de Rue, and took up a position as before, in the open air, on the advantageous heights which surround the town of Leyria. Major-General Ferguson's brigade, and Brigadier-General Fane's, preceded the main column of the army two days march to Leyria. On our arrival there we formed a junction with them. We found the inhabitants of this town in great consternation, lest the French should revisit them. General Ferguson, indeed, had found the place almost deserted. The French had only evacuated it a few days before our arrival, and we were informed, had, at the distance of but a few miles, a force of from five to six thousand men, under the command of General Laborde. Sir Arthur and his staff were lodged in the bishop's palace, a very extensive building.

Leyria is a fine town, and the country which surrounds it is very beautiful. On an eminence near the town is

an ancient castle, built by the Moors. Leyria is distant nineteen leagues N. N. E. from Lisbon.

On the morning of the 12th, the day of our quitting Leyria, three French prisoners were brought in by a party of Portuguese dragoons from Thomar, a town about three leagues distant from Leyria, and twenty-one leagues N. E. from Lisbon. The French, it appeared, had sent a party of five or six hundred men, to pillage Thomar, and seek for provisions. They had left there two persons attached to their commissariat department, with a very slight escort to see them safe out of the town, with some cart-loads of bread; which coming to the knowledge of the Portuguese troops, a party of their dragoons dashed into the place, and took them prisoners. The Frenchmen appeared delighted at being delivered over to the English. We gained but little information from these men.

As we advanced to Calveria, our halting-place for the night, reports of the French army being at no great distance from us became very prevalent. The troops having taken up their ground to the right, in the front of the village, Sir Arthur, at the head of the light troops, and a party of cavalry, advanced, in order to reconnoitre the French position. We learnt in the course of the day, that

our army might the next morning expect to be opposed by the enemy at a pass of some difficulty, a few miles in advance, on our road to Alcobaza.

A Portuguese, supposed to be a spy, was brought before the General. His guilt was so evident, that Sir Arthur threatened to hang him next morning, unless he gave a true account of all he knew respecting the French position. He then informed us, that the French army, under Laborde, were in possession of Alcobaza; that they occupied, above the town, a small Moorish castle, with the different surrounding heights, but had no troops in the valleys.

On the 14th we left Calveria, fully persuaded we should have to dispute with the enemy some difficult passes, which lay in our road. Sir Arthur had formed his troops into two distinct columns, to proceed by different routes. All the light infantry, and a party of Portuguese and English cavalry, making a strong advanced guard, were to feel their way, as well as to protect that part of the artillery which marched at the head of the two columns. Sir Arthur and his staff marched in front of the leading column, occasionally placing himself at the head of a small party of light troops and cavalry to reconnoitre. We thus continued our march, till we arrived at

Alcobaza, and without meeting an enemy. We entered the town with colours flying and bands playing, amidst the shouts from the inhabitants of "Viva l'Inglitera," &c. &c.

We learnt on our march this day, at a village about three miles from Alcobaza, that the French, after having reconnoitered our position on the night of the 13th, had immediately retired with their army in great haste towards Lisbon; but no one seemed to know the exact place to which they had retired. On our arrival at Alcobaza, where we took up our quarters, we learnt that the French had moved off from Alcobaza, with four thousand men, to Obidos. The convent of Alcobaza is one of the largest in Portugal; it contains from 150 to 200 monks. The church attached to the convent is most magnificent. The French took from this church two tons of silver, in lamps and other decorations. The great gate of this church is one of the most curious specimens of Gothic architecture I have seen. The interior of it is also very fine. Previously to its being plundered by the French, it contained the most costly decorations of any church in the kingdom.

Caldas, the 16th of August.

We quitted Alcobaza on the 14th, proceeding on our march to Caldas; and every step we took confirmed us in our opinion, that the day could not pass without an action. The enemy had made their retreat from Alcobaza in so precipitate a manner, that they had left undisturbed a bridge over a ravine, which we had to pass: had we found this bridge in any way damaged, our progress would have been greatly impeded. They also left behind them two waggons, which were loaded with stores and surgical instruments. Baron Tripp, who was sent forwards to reconnoitre, followed the enemy almost into Caldas; and Sir Arthur, feeling his way with the light troops, entered it without opposition.

Having marked out the ground for the main body of the army to take up its position just beyond the town, Sir Arthur left the light infantry, under the command of Generals Spencer and Fane, with orders to continue advancing till they discovered if the enemy had possession of a fortress, which was seen at about two miles distant from the road, on the Lisbon side of Caldas.

Owing to some misapprehension, a party of the nine-

ty-fifth and sixtieth regiments advanced beyond the post they were intended to have occupied. The consequence was, they were attacked by a detachment of the French, much superior in numbers to their own, aided by the enemy's whole rear guard of 1200 men; and we were surprized while at dinner, with the arrival of Captain Elliot, who informed us, that the enemy had attacked our advanced posts with considerable advantage.

Before we could get to the scene of action, this skirmish was over; and the next morning, on visiting the lines with the Commander-in-Chief, it appeared that our loss consisted of from twenty to twenty-five men. The French having retreated after this affair, we took up our advanced posts at Obidos.

Caldas is famous for its natural warm mineral baths. They have a strong sulphureous smell, and the water has a metallic taste. The Royal Family and Court of Portugal annually resort to this place, for the benefit of bathing. Caldas is, however, but a mean town, and ill calculated for the reception of a court, or the principal inhabitants of any country. The house we occupy was the one set apart for the Royal Family: a more miserable dirty abode I hardly ever saw. The chief recommendations of the place are its fine botanical garden, and an

extensive, well-built, and well-regulated hospital, situated near the baths.

Vimiera, August 20th, 1808.

On the 7th instant, proceeding in our march from Caldas, we discovered from the summit of an old Moorish castle (near which the affair of the 15th took place), the French army, apparently drawn out in order of battle. General Ferguson's brigade was ordered to form a separate column, and attack the enemy on their right. The main body of the army advancing nearly in a parallel direction to General Ferguson, an action took place, which soon became general. The French retreated, and led us into a labyrinth of narrow passages, and apparently inaccessible heights. The first attack, made by General Ferguson, commenced at nine A. M., and the firing of the two contending armies had entirely ceased before five P. M. The French, after having been repeatedly forced from their positions, were compelled to make a final retreat; but not without attempting, by three desperate attacks, to regain the heights which they had lost.

Owing to our want of cavalry, the enemy, after the third attack, were enabled to make the most scientific and beautiful retreat that has, perhaps, ever been witnessed. Captain Bradford, as well as Colonels Lake and

Stuart, were killed in this affair; and Captain Elphinstone, of the engineers, was severely wounded.

The loss our army sustained, is estimated at from 450 to 500 men. The enemy's loss is not known; but from the numbers of slain discovered in all parts of the field of battle, it must have been more considerable than ours. We took some prisoners, two of which are officers of distinction. It was also confidently asserted that Laborde had been severely wounded in the neck. The name of the pass in the mountains, which we forced, was Arumbra; near which place the troops halted on the night of the 17th, and proceeded on the 18th to Lourinha.

On this morning, while we were formed in order of march on our ground, and about to proceed forwards and offer the enemy battle, Captain Gordon, General Anstruther's aid-de-camp brought to camp the intelligence of that General's arrival off the fortress of Penichè. On our road to Vimiera, and since our arrival here, we have learnt that Laborde has been joined by Junot, with the greater part of the French forces in Portugal, making an army of sixteen or eighteen thousand men, they occupying a position in the neighbourhood of Rio Major, about two leagues distant from us. It is a singular fact, that in this neighbourhood the Portuguese were evidently unwilling to re-

ceive us, and would not assist us in procuring the provisions we were in immediate want of; although they had suffered more from the barbarous treatment of the French, than the inhabitants of any other district in Portugal.

LETTER IX.

GENERAL KELLERMAN AND HIS AIDES-DE-CAMP.—CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH TROOPS IN LISBON AFTER THE CONVENTION.—HEAD-QUARTERS REMOVE FROM CINTRA TO OEYRAS.—DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGE OF CINTRA.—ANECDOTE OF GENERAL JUNOT.—UNIVERSAL INDIGNATION DISPLAYED BY THE PORTUGUESE TOWARDS THE FRENCH.—GENERAL JUNOT'S DINNER.—JEALOUSY BETWEEN LABORDE AND JUNOT—ITS ORIGIN.—JUNOT'S RANK IN SOCIETY PREVIOUSLY TO THE REVOLUTION.

Torres Vedras, 12th Sept. 1808.

I SHALL take this opportunity of selecting a few more passages from my friend's journal, for your amusement. After describing the battle of Vimiera, he proceeds:—

"I was with Sir Arthur Wellesley when General Kellerman arrived with the flag of truce, on the 22d of August. Kellerman is hideously ugly, but his countenance is by no means void of *sensible* expression. He appears not to be a man of an engaging address. He came, accompanied by two aides-de-camp, one of whom had a

commission in, and wore the uniform of, the Portuguese police corps. On our asking one of them to exchange some Napoleons for guineas, he produced a purse, which I should imagine contained at least two hundred, and which he, without hesitation, acknowledged to be plunder taken from the Portuguese. Kellerman dined with us, and did not quit Sir Arthur's till late in the evening.

"*24th August.*

"Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, Lord Paget, Sir Charles Stuart, Lord Louvaine, and Sir Robert Wilson, arrived here from Maceira."

"*1st September.*

"We understand that our division, which Sir Arthur commands, being the only one which had engaged the French, are not to be permitted to take possession of Lisbon and its fortresses."

"*Togal, Convent de St. Antonio, 4th Sept.* 1808.

"We arrived within three leagues of Lisbon two days ago, and took up our quarters (the same which we at present occupy), at the country seat of a convent of Benedictine monks, whose chief residence is in Lisbon. On the day of our arrival here, two French officers paid us a

visit. Through them, Sir Arthur sent an invitation for dinner to General Loison, who commanded the advanced posts of the French army between us and Lisbon; but he refused, saying, he every hour expected orders from the Duke of Abrantes, and therefore could not leave his lines.

"An immense number of German soldiers, who composed a part of Junot's army, that had been formed by the French in Hanover, have deserted to us; and so great a horror, they say, exists in the minds of their countrymen and comrades, as to returning to France, that they are positive the French from one of their German regiments will hardly embark fifty men.

"An English merchant arrived here from Lisbon this morning, to inform us that the French are pillaging the town in all quarters; and that many public curiosities and valuables had actually been packed up ready for embarkation. We now understand, that these peculations are in direct violation of the treaty of capitulation; and that, in order to put a stop to them, General Beresford and Lord Proby have been sent to Lisbon, with orders to superintend the embarkation, and to inform the French, that unless they act in strict conformity to the treaty, the recommencement of hostilities would immediately take place.

"*Togal, 6th September.*

"Stanhope returned with Sir Arthur on the evening of the 4th instant, from head-quarters at Cintra.

"The Bishop of Oporto has written a letter to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and sent a person who was to have assisted in forming that part of the treaty with the French army which immediately concerned the Portuguese. The Bishop, in this letter, insists, as a *sine-qua-non*, that the French troops shall not be permitted to take away the treasures they have pillaged from the Portuguese.

"So incensed are the Portuguese at this treaty of capitulation, that * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * *

"Baron Tripp was sent yesterday by Sir Arthur Wellesley to head-quarters, which, we learn, have been moved from Cintra to Oeyras.

"Cintra is a delightful spot, and worthy of observation. The town, which is not large, is built at the foot of a stupendous rocky mountain. It contains a royal palace of Gothic architecture, and is much cleaner than the generality of Portuguese towns. Persons of distinction,

for their health or amusement, resort to this place during summer, for the benefit of the sea breezes. One great advantage it possesses over other towns in this country, is an excellent inn, kept by Mrs. * * * *, an Irishwoman.

"At Cintra I learnt an extraordinary fact, that the commissariat, for want of proper guides, had mistaken their road, and gone with their whole depôt into the centre of the French lines; from whence they were very politely conducted by a French officer back to the British army.

"On our arrival at Lisbon, we visited General Beresford, at whose house we met Lord Paget, his aides-de-camp, and Colonel Graham. We here found that nothing could surpass the audacity of the attempts which had been made by the French to carry off all the articles of value which could be found in Lisbon, whether public or private property. They had actually packed up two state carriages, the property of his royal highness the Duke of Sussex; but at the remonstrance of General Beresford, they were compelled to relinquish their booty.

"Junot, who had become exceedingly indignant at the idea of returning to France in a frigate, instead of a line of battle ship, was informed that the Duke of York was

in the habit of sailing in a frigate; to which he made answer—'That he trusted it was not intended to make a comparison between him and the Duke of York.' 'The Duke of York,' said he, 'is only commander-in-chief of a king's army, while I, the Duke of Abrantes, am commander-in-chief of an emperor's army, as well as his Imperial Majesty's representative.'

"A major of the twenty-ninth regiment of infantry, made prisoner on the 17th, had been confined at Lisbon from that period till this morning, when he was released. The greater part of his imprisonment was on board the Portuguese ships. He told us many anecdotes of the French soldiery, and particularly dwelt upon the detestation which existed between the French and the Portuguese peasantry. He said, that on his march on the 17th to Lisbon, the French guard who conducted him, amused themselves by firing at the peasants as they passed along, without any apparent provocation having been given on their part. He added, that the French acknowledged they had received a complete beating on the 21st, and that they had, in the two actions, lost 4,000 men. They allowed they had 20,000 in the field on the 21st.

"At two or three different periods during his imprisonment, the Portuguese at Lisbon had attempted to rise

upon the French troops. After the battle of the 21st, so certain were the French that we should have entered the town of Lisbon as conquerors, that they had transported all their valuables on board the Portuguese and Russian men of war anchored in the Tagus.

"I saw at Lisbon, a report given in to General Beresford from the French, stating, that their force about to be embarked, amounted to twenty-seven thousand men. I hardly think that their army can be so numerous; but imagine they have exaggerated their numbers, in order to gain an additional quantity of tonnage, that they may the better smuggle away their plunder.

At the Convent, 8th Sept. 1808.

"We learn this day, that Sir Charles Cotton has permitted the Russian ships to surrender with the French. Major-General Ferguson has obtained leave of absence, in other words, quits his command.

"Sir Arthur, and most of his staff, went on the 9th to Lisbon, where he remained some days, and dined with Junot, who gave us a sumptuous repast. The conversation occasionally turned on ourselves, with what took place during the actions of the 17th and 21st. These, with the usual *fanfaronnade* of Frenchmen, they treated

as insignificant affairs, not as general actions. They said the 21st was merely a *coup-de-main*, on their part. However, I must say, they did justice to the bravery of our troops, as well as to the skill of our Commander-in-Chief.

"Junot's second aid-de-camp, near whom I was seated at dinner, surprized me much by the light and disrespectful manner with which he spoke of the military talents of his General, who, he said, was a *bon officier de cavalerie, mais rien d'autre*. I was equally amazed at finding that this man, as well as most of the officers who composed Junot's staff, and those of the other French generals, were men of a certain age, much past the flower of youth. My friend, of whom I am about to speak, served in the French army twenty-seven years, and had been at the siege of Gibraltar, where he was wounded. He had the rank of colonel *d'artillerie*, as well as that of the Duke d'Abrantes' second aid-de-camp. He acknowledged to me that the fire on the 21st in *parti* was very *v'arm*.

"The whole ceremony of this dinner greatly amused me; it consisted chiefly of Junot's family, which amounted to near sixty persons, with the addition of ten English guests. The greater part of the Frenchmen who assisted at this dinner, were anxious to shew us every mark of ci-

vility ; but it did not require a very discerning eye to discover that most of them had been exalted to situations, which they were ill qualified to fill. There were among them one or two young men, who had been emigrants, and possessed altogether engaging manners.

" The dress and costume of the persons who formed Junot's staff, partook more of the appearance of performers on the stage, than of soldiers. Many of them were covered with orders of the first and second classes, fastened on fine tinselled coats, of all colours. After dinner, Loison and Laborde came to pay Junot a visit.

" Loison bears the most horrid character for rapacity, and all kinds of inhuman barbarity ; Laborde also is not devoid of a taste for plunder, though he is less inclined that way than Loison.

" I understand, from a very intelligent French emigrant, who resides here as a merchant, that nothing could exceed the jealousy and hatred which existed between the different French general officers, especially Junot and Laborde, which is easily accounted for. Laborde was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment in which Junot served as serjeant, at the commencement of the Revolution.

"Bonaparte, during his first campaign in Italy, took Junot, at the recommendation of his lieutenant-colonel, to be his secretary, in consequence of the goodness of his hand-writing.

"Junot originally was bred to the law, and at the outset of the Revolution, had been employed as a clerk to a pettyfogging attorney near Toulon, till he was forced by the National Assembly to serve in the armies of the republic. He is not esteemed a man of great ability, either as a soldier or politician, though he is famed for his personal courage, many marks of which he bears about his person, having received a variety of wounds.*

"The French army in this country is, most assuredly, a

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* It is said, that when Bonaparte first went to Toulon, he desired to have some person well acquainted with the topography of that city, to conduct him over the ramparts. Junot, then a grenadier in a volunteer battalion, was introduced to him, and shewed so much determination and coolness during their walk, while the shot was flying in showers around them, that Bonaparte, struck with his intrepedity, demanded what he could do to serve him. "You may, if you please," answered Junot, "exchange this worsted shoulder-knot for one of silver." His wish was complied with. Bonaparte afterwards desired him to follow him, and share his fortunes. He did so, and was appointed, by Bonaparte, one of his aid-de-camps, in 1796.

Kellermann began his career as a private in the Conflans regiment of hussars.

very fine one ; though I am in great hopes that their thirst after vain glory begins to abate, and that the eyes of their officers, as well as of their men, are gradually opening to the discovery that the mad ambition of their chief must one day meet with a check. There are many officers in this army, who have dared loudly to reprobate his conduct, in regard to Spain and Portugal.

" It is a remarkable circumstance, that so many officers who are advanced in years, and who commenced their military career previously to the Revolution, should now serve in the French army, in situations very inferior to those which, from their long and useful services, they have a right to look up to. Laborde was a lieutenant-colonel before the French revolution ; and even a general of division during the consulate of Bonaparte. He now retains the same rank he had during the consulate, though many officers have been promoted over his head ; and yet, under these mortifying circumstances, he serves the usurper of his country's crown, not only faithfully, but with great distinction, being one of his best officers."

LETTER X.

ROYAL PARK OF MAFRA.—STEEP DEFILE.—MAGNIFICENT APPEARANCE OF THE ROYAL CONVENT OF MAFRA.—LUNAR MOUNTAINS OF CINTRA.—FISHING VILLAGE OF ERYCEIRA.—BRIDGE OF CHILLIEROS.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE GRAND AQUEDUCT OF LISBON AT THE VILLAGE OF MONTELAVAR.—CHALYBEATE SPRINGS.—TOWN OF BELLAS.—PALACE OF CONDE POMBEIRO.—TOMB OF VIRIATUS.—BRITISH CAMP.—ILLUMINATIONS AT BELEM—LISBON.—ELECTION OF THE REGENCY.—FRENCH TROOPS EMBARKING.

Belem, near Lisbon, 19th Sept. 1808.

HAVING some business at Lisbon, which it was necessary for me in person to transact, I left Torres Vedras at an early hour yesterday, and arrived here late in the evening. I was advised to take the road through Mafra, which, although rather circuitous, is neither so rocky nor mountainous as that by Cabeza de Monte Chica.

After gaining the top of one of the mountains which encircle Torres Vedras, I descended into a fertile valley, containing several pretty villages, surrounded by orchards

and vineyards. Through this the road winds its intricate track, to the head of the valley, where, taking on a sudden a new direction to the right, it conducts to the summit of a mountain, whence I had a charming bird's-eye view of the whole valley through which I had passed.

The road now leads, by a very steep descent, into a deep ravine, the sides of which are cloathed with abundance of wood. To the left, the view is bounded by the royal park of Mafra, covered with lofty cork trees, beneath whose hoary-spreading branches were seen straying several herds of beautiful deer. This park, which is three leagues in extent, is enclosed with a strong wall, about fourteen feet high.

On reaching the bottom of the defile I perceived a small hamlet, whose white church enlivened the solitude of the scene, as the tinkling tones of its humble bell floated along the vale.

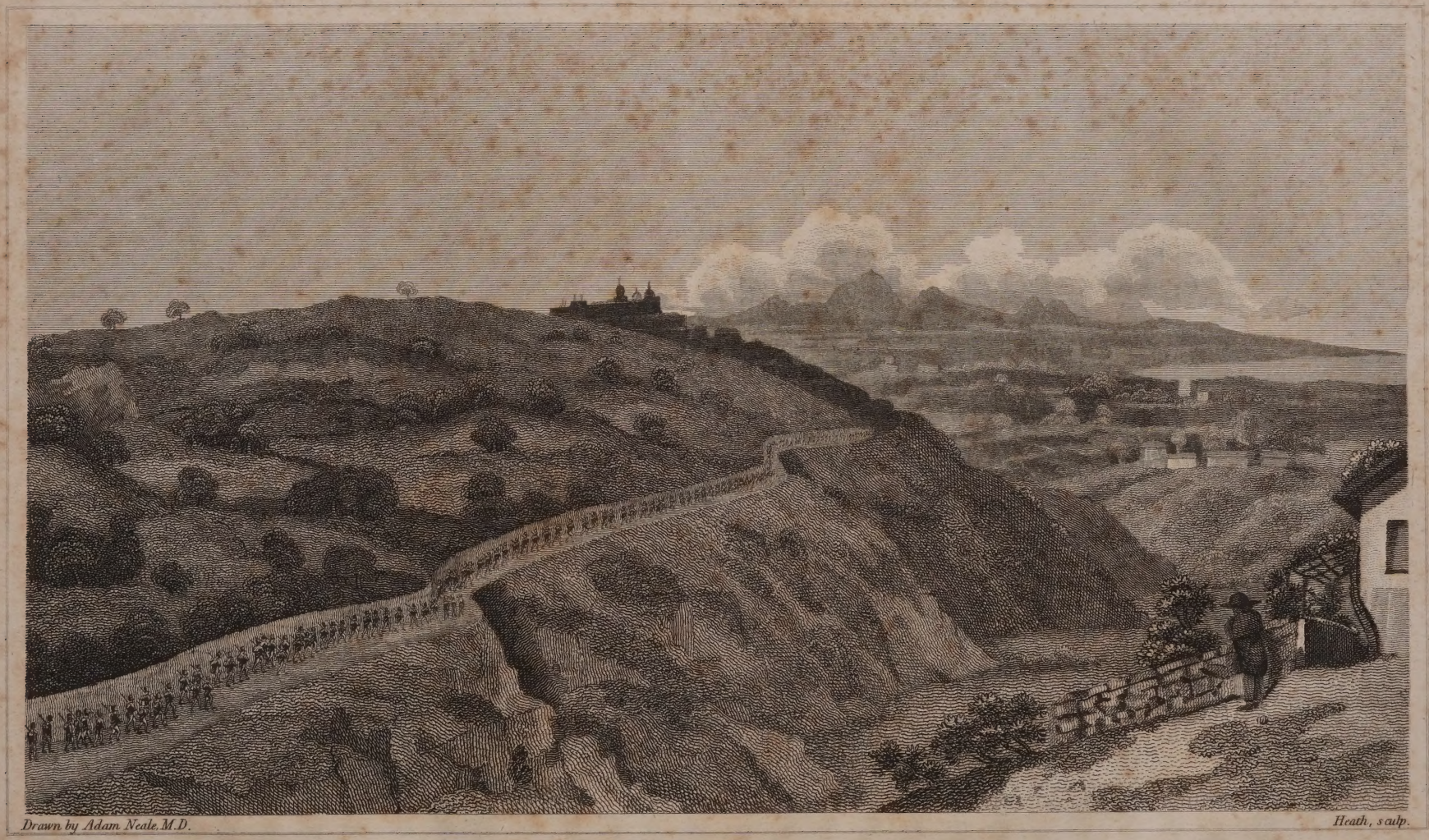
I now ascended by one of the steepest and strongest passes I have ever seen. The road is well paved, and flanked by the park-wall before mentioned. At the summit of the mountain I came to a mean village, where I was gratified with a most magnificent prospect. In the foreground stood the village, whence the road wound

along by the side of the mountain, at the extremity of which the gigantic pile of Mafra shot its gilded cupolas to the sky; while in the remote distance rose the Alpine crags of the rock of Cintra, mingling with the snowy clouds which hovered on their summit. To the right lay the immense expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, on whose blue and tranquil bosom floated the little fishing boats of the distant village of Eryceira.

I was tempted to sketch the enclosed drawing, which, however, I fear, will convey a very imperfect idea of this sublime landscape.

On reaching Mafra, I did not fail to enter that magnificent tructure—its church, the ascent to which is by a very noble flight of marble steps; but I was so much pressed for time, that I could only take a slight survey of the interior of it, trusting to a future opportunity of examining it minutely.

From Mafra I rode over a bleak rugged country for some miles, till I reached a village called Chillieros, sweetly seated on the banks of a stream called Carvosiera, over which there is a handsome lofty bridge. Several of the orchards here contain abundance of oranges; and the shining verdure of their leaves, studded with golden fruit,



Drawn by Adam Neale, M.D.

Heath, sculp.

DISTANT VIEW OF MAFRA,

and the Mountains of Cintra.

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relieved the eye, fatigued by the scorching reflection of the rocks.

Leaving the "lunar mountains of Cintra" to the right, I came to a small village called Montelavar, situated amid barren limestone hills, where are the first arches of the grand acqueduct of Lisbon. Here several streams of the purest water gush from the "living rock," and are collected into a large marble reservoir by the side of the road. The children of the village officiate as the naïads of the fountain, and offer the cooling beverage to the thirsty traveller.

Passing a romantic water-mill, and some chalybeate springs, which are enclosed, to prevent any improper use being made of them by females when pregnant, at the distance of a league from Monte Cavar, I entered the market town of Bellas; where there is a good inn, and a palace, belonging to the Conde de Pombiero, with a garden laid out in parterres, according to the old French style, and shaded with lofty trees.

As you are fond of antiquities, I must not omit telling you, that in the reign of king John III. the tomb of the celebrated Viriatus was accidentally discovered in this neighbourhood. It was a stone chest, with an inscription upon it—"*Hic jacet Viriatus Lusitanus Dux.*" Strange to

say, not a man in Portugal was then to be found who had taste sufficient to induce him to become a purchaser of this remarkable monument. It was given to a gentleman of Madeira, who carried it to that island, where it was lost.

The road near Bellas passed under some arches of the great aqueduct, close to which a part of our army lay encamped. I then reached some heights, from whence I descried the bold shores of the Tagus; and entered Belem, as the setting sun sunk behind the rock of Lisbon.

As I passed along, I found the streets of Belem crowded with persons of all ranks, who seemed to be enjoying the refreshing breezes of an autumnal evening; while the blaze of illuminations, and the discharges of rockets, displayed by the Portuguese, seemed expressive of the happiness they felt in the prospect of being delivered from the thraldom of their Gallic oppressors.

This morning I reached Lisbon. The towers of the churches are decorated with flags, and the streets crowded with the carriages of the noblesse. They are assembled to deliberate on the election of a new Regency, after having attended the celebration of high mass at the episcopal church. All ranks appear in high glee, and very civilly salute the British officers as they pass along.

The great quay at Belem was crowded as I passed with the French troops, who were embarking in the boats to get aboard the transports; while the Portuguese were grinning at their departure. Our sailors were acting the part of masters of the ceremonies, which they performed most ludicrously.

I mean to send this home by the mail going to England in the Plover sloop of war, in which Sir Arthur Wellesley returns. Major-General Ferguson will accompany him. I am sorry to hear that indisposition is the cause which induces the latter to leave us.

LETTER XI.

VILLAGE OF QUELUS —ITS ROYAL PALACE.—THE VINTAGE—STATE OF THE PRESS IN PORTUGAL—ITS CONSEQUENCES.—SUCCESSFUL EXERTIONS OF GENERAL BERESFORD AND LORD PROBY.—A SPECIMEN OF FRENCH FINESSE.

Torres Vedras, 21st Sept. 1808

I RETURNED here yesterday from Lisbon, which I left the preceding evening. Having been detained at Belem till a late hour, and finding that it would be impossible to reach Torres Vedras that night, I called on a friend at Quelus, who procured me a bed at that village.

Early yesterday I pursued my journey, after viewing the royal palace of Quelus, which has lately undergone a complete repair, for the reception of the Duke d'Abrantes. It is a low wooden building, but contains a very handsome suite of apartments. Among others, a concert-room, two hundred feet long, with a very magnificent ceiling, and a room decorated with eighteen pictures, from the novel of Don Quixote.

Behind the building is a pretty extensive garden, which is well stocked with shrubs, and laid out with some taste. The village is paltry, consisting of a few small houses, with one church, and an amphitheatre for bull-fights. The peasants were employed in the fields as I passed, in gathering in the vintage : and after an agreeable ride, I reached Torres Vedras about three in the afternoon.

I found my old landlord had been anxious for my return, that he might inform himself of the real state of things at Lisbon ; of which the country people had been receiving for the last week the most false and exaggerated accounts.

Mankind are naturally fond of news ; and in a country like this, where newspapers are few in number, and, from the expence, difficult of access, every circumstance as it occurs, is handed about from person to person, and by the time it has travelled twenty-seven miles (which is the distance of this town from Lisbon), Mrs. Piozzi's tale of the Black Crows is fully exemplified.

You may judge what is the state of public information in this country, when I tell you, that previously to the invasion by the French, there was only one, or at most

two newspapers printed in all Portugal; and these consisted of four very small quarto pages, and were under the inspection of the Inquisition.

Since the English army landed, another newspaper has been set on foot at Coimbra, which, I hope, will be continued; although it is more than probable, that the moment the Inquisition again rears its hydra head, the press will be subjected to its power, and the Coimbra Gazette consigned to oblivion.

The Portuguese have attempted to raise a great outcry against the quantity of plunder which the French have carried off with them. I do assure you, that I believe the clamour to be groundless. They certainly did attempt to smuggle many valuable articles of plunder on board; but so great has been the vigilance of General Beresford and Lord Proby, that they have in a great measure been foiled in their attempts, and forced to relinquish their booty, which has been placed in the public stores, till claimed by the individuals from whom it was cruelly wrested. They have contrived one mode of eluding the British vigilance: it is, the active employment of two mints, in which they have converted a large quantity of church-plate into French crowns and Napoleon d'ors. All this specie they are permitted, by the construction of the

articles of the convention, to carry off to France. You will allow that this piece of Gallic finesse has been rarely surpassed.

I believe I forgot to tell you that Junot wished to carry with him five Danish vessels loaded with plunder, under the name of his private baggage; but this attempt was much too barefaced, and was, of course, prevented by Sir Hew Dalrymple.

I am anxious to be removed to Lisbon, as this place is becoming unhealthy. My strolls in the neighbourhood have now lost the attraction of novelty; and I begin to feel the want of books, which are not to be had here. The labours of the vintage take up the attention of my worthy host, who spends most of his time at two vineyards which he possesses in this neighbourhood, and from which he derives a handsome income.

LETTER XII.

MAFRA.—A CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTE.—CONVENT OF MAFRA—BUILT BY KING JOHN V.—ITS ARCHITECTURE SEVERELY CENSURED BY MURPHY:—GENERAL IMPRESSION GRAND—MUCH INJURED BY THE FRENCH SOLDIERY.—AURICULAR CONFESSION.—SUBURBS OF LISBON.—BENEFICO.—AQUEDUCT OF ALCANTARA—GALLEGOS.

Lisbon, 5th October, 1808.

I AM afforded an opportunity of writing to you by the Hindostan store-ship, which is ordered to return immediately to England.

Two days ago I arrived here. The hospital of Torres Vedras is broken up, and the sick removed to the Estrella convent. My companions and I, on our way hither, were forced to pass the night at Mafra. It was late in the evening before we reached that village, so that we were obliged to disturb the slumbers of the *Juiz de Fora,* who seemed very unwilling to quit his pillow. At length he got up, and granted us the comforts of a billet on the house of one of the dignified clergy.

We procured a Portuguese soldier from the guard-room to shew us the house, which lay at a considerable distance, at the further extremity of the village. On arriving, our guide knocked for some time, before he could rouse a monk, who at length demanded what was the matter. On being informed that some English officers had arrived with billets, he opened the casement, and popped out his bare crown to reconnoitre our numbers.

Observing our strength, he commenced a most noisy remonstrance with our guide, who, shivering from the cold of a bleak northerly wind (to the influence of which Mafra is much exposed), answered by a volley of maledictions, which soon brought the unwieldy master of the mansion, in his night-cap, to the window.

He affected to be much annoyed by the liberty which, he said, the Juiz de Fora had taken, in sending officers at so late an hour to disturb his family. To these complaints, our conductor replied by thumping the door with the butt-end of his musket, which soon brought the whole family to the bottom of the stair-case.

As the junior monk spoke French, a conversation now commenced, in which we informed him that we had just arrived from Torres Vedras; and that although the Juiz

de Fora might have acted wrong in granting a billet upon his house: yet we could not think of passing the night in the streets: as little could we consent to return to that magistrate's house, to procure an exchange of the billet.

After they had both called all the saints in the calendar to witness the injury they had suffered by this intrusion, and again and again protested that they had neither beds nor bed-chamber to spare, they were at length brought a little to reason by the Portuguese soldier; but no arguments could induce them to give us stalls for our horses, although we were assured by our guide that they had a capacious stable behind the house, quite empty.

We were therefore obliged to ride back to the upper part of the village, and leave our cavalry at a public stable; and on our return were admitted to the room which they had prepared for us, containing three mattrasses laid on the floor. Here we passed the night, and quitted the inhospitable roof early the following morning.

I have related this anecdote, not from its importance, but to shew the selfish character of some of the monastic clergy of Portugal, and how little these men are disposed

to evince any just degree of gratitude for the assistance which has been lent them by the British army.

I took this opportunity of examining the royal convent of Mafra, of which I shall now send you a short description.

It was built by King John the Fifth, in pursuance of a vow which he made to St. Antonio, during a dangerous attack of sickness, to found a convent, for the use of the poorest friary in the kingdom. Upon enquiry, twelve Franciscans were found living in a hut at Mafra; and the king, having procured a plan from Rome, employed a German, named John Fredericks, to superintend the execution of the work. It was begun in 1717, and finished in 1731. It is constructed of whitish marble, and contains thirty-seven windows in front. The church is placed in the centre, having the palace on one side, and the convent on the other. The whole building forms a square of about seven hundred and thirty feet.

Murphy, in his Travels in Portugal, censures the bad taste of the architect, who, he says, was a jeweller in Lisbon. I must own that I think the flight of stairs before the building peculiarly grand. On ascending these steps, one hundred and sixty-two in number, we passed through

a portico with twelve colossal statues of saints, cut in white Carrara marble, of tolerable workmanship.

The interior of the church is handsome, and entirely covered with very beautiful marbles, of exquisite polish, disposed in pannels. There are six organs, and ten or twelve altars. Over each of the latter, instead of pictures, are marble basso-relievos, very well executed. The church is lighted by a number of windows, ranged beneath a cupola of the Corinthian order, the interior of which is incrusted with marbles, beautifully carved, and encompassed by a handsome gallery.

The convent contains three hundred cells, each of twenty feet by eighteen. We were shewn a handsome library, with a tolerable assortment of books. It measures in length three hundred and eighty-one palms, but is only forty-three in breadth. The whole edifice is said to contain eight hundred and seventy rooms, and five thousand two hundred windows.

The French troops had occupied the building as a barrack, and left it polluted by all manner of filth and rags.

The passages and walls, in all directions, are scorched and defaced by the action of their fires, which they had

kindled, without compunction, close to the finest marble facings, which again the heat had rent in many places.

Sixty or seventy monks now inhabit this convent, some of whom we found occupied in performing mass, and others attending to the auricular confessions of some unfortunate female peasants, who, on their knees, were pouring forth their secret sentiments to those indolent, prying mortals.

On our road hither, we passed through an immense suburb called Benefico, composed of villas, belonging chiefly to the foreign merchants of Lisbon, who live here in a good style, and seem to enjoy all those pleasures which men in easy circumstances can procure in this luxurious climate. Around these quintas, as they are called, are generally pretty extensive gardens, well laid out, and supplied by water from deep draw-wells, the wheels of which are turned by mules.

Mr. Beckford, of Fonthill, is the proprietor of one of the most beautiful of these. The gardens contain a remarkably fine collection of exotic plants, which here thrive in the open air. This villa was formerly the property of a Mr. De Vismes, who lavished an immense sum upon it.

After passing Benefico, the road turns suddenly to the

right, and we soon found ourselves opposite to the stupendous arches of the aqueduct of Alcantara. It was built about the year 1748, in the reign of King John the Fifth, the founder of Mafra; and providentially received no injury from the earthquake of 1755. It is constructed, like all the other public buildings here, of white marble.

This aqueduct is really a stupendous work, and does honor to the Portuguese nation. It collects a number of springs on the mountains and heights adjoining to Bellas, and conveys their joint produce for several leagues, into a large reservoir, situated near the north-west extremity of Lisbon. In passing over the vale of Alcantara, it unites two hills by thirty-five arches, fourteen of which are very large; some of them three hundred and thirty-two feet high.

There are ten smaller arches near the city, and many more of still less dimensions near its source. The pillars which support these arches are square, and the largest measure thirty-three feet each side, at the base.

Before this building was erected, Lisbon suffered the greatest distress for want of water; and you may judge of the value of this element here, when I inform you that eighty thousand pounds sterling is calculated to be the sum annually paid by the inhabitants for the water which

is carried from the fountains, in small barrels, to their respective houses, by a class of men called Gallegos.

On entering Lisbon, I rode to the Caffee del Commercio, where I supped with my friend H***, and retired to rest on a sofa, every bed in the house being engaged.

Before concluding this letter, I must not omit a remarkable circumstance which has lately occurred: When a detachment of troops went from hence, to take possession of the town and fortress of Elvas, they found that place invested by a body of Spaniards, part of the army of Estremadura, under the command of a General Galluzzo. On being made acquainted with the terms of the convention of Cintra, Galluzzo would not consent that the garrison of Elvas, whom he already anticipated as his prisoners, should be included; and so resolute was he in his refusal to permit our troops to execute their orders, that it was found necessary to dispatch a field-officer from head-quarters, to persuade this Spanish Bobadil of the absolute necessity of his withdrawing his army. Colonel Graham, of the nineteenth regiment, was selected for this delicate mission, and has succeeded in bringing Galluzzo to reason. Adieu.

LETTER XIII.

DEPARTURE OF SIR HEW DALRYMPLE FOR ENGLAND.—CHARACTER OF SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY.—SKETCH OF HIS PUBLIC LIFE.

Lisbon, 6th October, 1808.

I AM in hopes that I shall be enabled to send you this second letter by the fleet, in hich Sir Hew Dalrymple returns to England.

The English papers, just received, have put the army in possession of all the particulars of the convention: they likewise give us an idea of the sensations it has excited in the public mind at home. These are, indeed, such as we had all anticipated.

The departure of Sir Arthur Wellesley for England, is a subject of great regret with the army. He had won the entire confidence and affections of the soldiery, in an uncommon degree, by his talents and affability.

Indeed he possesses such a combination of rare qualities, as seldom fall to the lot of an individual; and, with the exception of Nelson, whose fame he bids fair to rival, England has, perhaps, produced no man, since the days of Marlborough, of so much innate military acumen. To a body unusually active, there is added, in him, a mind the most fertile in resources. His quickness of conception can be equalled only by his intrepidity in execution. With an instinctive readiness, he forms a just conception of the character and talents of his enemy, as well as of the result of his own plans.

He is one of those whom our country ought always to cherish; as it is only with such men at the head of our fleets or armies, that we can hope to meet, with suitable energy and effect, the powerful means of an inveterate foe.

Besides these grand traits of character, Sir Arthur has been trained in the best, perhaps, of all schools for learning the art of war, I mean the plains of Hindostan. It is experience alone that can enable any general to put thirty or forty thousand men in motion. The mind, if long confined to petty and minute details, can seldom be brought to collect with facility into one point, a multiplicity of particulars, and to refer a variety of operations to their common principle. It is for this reason that a

good officer of a battalion, is often found to make but a very indifferent general.

In illustration of what I assert, I shall give you a short sketch of the public life of Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Sir Arthur Wellesley is the third son of the late Earl of Mornington. After receiving the rudiments of education at Eton, he was placed at a military academy at Angers, in France. During his residence there, he applied himself with great industry to acquire a thorough knowledge of the theory of his future profession. He entered the army, as a subaltern, at an early period of life, and reached the rank of field-officer, without having had any opportunity of distinguishing himself.

Having accompanied the Earl of Moira to Holland, in 1794, he had an opportunity of displaying his talents, while conducting the retreat of a brigade of three battalions, which he effected with great credit and applause.

On the appointment of his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, to be governor-general of Bengal, Sir Arthur, who had purchased the lieutenant-colonelcy of the thirty-third, accompanied his regiment to India. On his arrival, an expedition being then on foot for the reduction of Ma-

nilla, Sir Arthur was appointed to it, and had actually embarked, when it was found necessary to abandon the expedition, on account of the intrigues of France with Tippoo Sultaun.

Lieutenant-General Harris had been appointed to command the Madras army, destined to act against Tippoo, and penetrate into the Mysore country ; and to this army Colonel Wellesley was attached. Upon the arrival of the Nizam's subsidiary force, consisting of nearly fifteen thousand native troops, General Harris appointed Colonel Wellesley to command it, as a separate body.

At the taking of Seringapatam, on the 4th May, 1799, the Colonel commanded the reserve at that ever memorable assault, and was thanked in public orders by General Harris, for the gallant intrepidity of his conduct.

In the commission of British officers selected to arrange the division of the Mysore territories, we find the name of Colonel Wellesley, as well as in the military commission appointed for the division of the prize treasure taken in Seringapatam.

Col. Wellesley's next appointment was that of governor of the conquered capital, a task the most difficult you can

well imagine; and which required a person of great integrity and military ability, united to much prudence and judgment. For the meritorious discharge of this difficult duty, he received the thanks of the Governor-general in council.

General Harris having quitted India for Europe, and the command of the Madras army devolving upon Major-General Braithwaite, Colonel Wellesley was entrusted with an expedition against the freebooter Dhondia Waugh, of whom it was necessary to make a severe example, from the excesses which he had committed on the Company's possessions.

In the month of September 1800, Colonel Wellesley, at the head of a sufficient force, took the field. He entered the Nizam's territories on the 5th, and after a series of rapid and vigorous movements, intercepted Dhondia Waugh's force at Conaghull, where it was strongly posted, having its rear and left flank covered by that rock and village.

Although of Colonel Wellesley's army the horse only had come up, with his wonted intrepidity, he determined on an immediate attack, and having placed himself at the head of the nineteenth and twenty-fifth light dragoons, and first and second regiments of native cavalry, which he

extended into one line, to prevent his being out-flanked, he rushed on the enemy.

Dhondia's force shewed much firmness, but could not withstand the rapidity and fury of the charge. They gave way, and were pursued for several miles. Dhondia himself, with immense numbers of his followers, were killed, and the whole body completely and effectually dispersed.

The thanks of General Braithwaite and the Governor-general in council, were conveyed to Colonel Wellesley, for the great and unremitting activity which he had displayed in these operations.

The Mahratta war having commenced in November, 1802, Lord Clive, then at the head of the Madras government, assembled an army of nineteen thousand men, the command of which was entrusted to Lieutenant-Gen. Stuart.

It became necessary to detach a part of this force towards Poonah, the capital of the Peishwah, our ally, which was menaced by Scindeah and Holkar.

Colonel Wellesley having now attained the rank of major-general, was selected for this important command,

having under him Colonel Stevenson, and a body of thirty-five thousand men, with a proportionable train of artillery. Of this army, two-thirds were furnished as subsidy by the Nizam, and comprised about nine thousand native cavalry.

The Nizam's force being placed under the command of Colonel Stevenson, General Wellesley, at the head of his army of twelve thousand, deemed it expedient to push on with the greatest rapidity towards Poonah, as it was known that Holkar was in possession of that capital, as well as the person of the Peishwah.

On the night of the 19th of April, information having been received that it was the determination of Holkar to plunder and burn Poonah on the approach of the British troops, General Wellesley pushed forward, over a rugged and difficult country, and through a dangerous pass; and, after a forced march of sixty miles, reached the Peishwah's capital in the short period of thirty-two hours.

The astonishing and unheard-of celerity of this movement saved Poonah from the fate then awaiting it; and in a few days he had the satisfaction of restoring this city to its lawful sovereign.

It would far exceed the limits of any letter to state to

you the immense consequences resulting to the British interests in India from this achievement; they were, as you may easily conceive, of the first importance.

Neither shall I, for the same reason, detail to you the talent displayed in the taking of the city and fortress of Amednagar; or the rapid and masterly movements which were made by General Wellesley, after the reduction of that important garrison; but shall hasten to notice the battle of Assye, which alone will for ever immortalize the name of Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Having arrived at Naulnair on the ever-memorable 23d September, he received information that the combined Mahratta army was posted within six miles of the ground which he intended to occupy; but that the enemy had indicated an intention of breaking up his camp and retreating, on the approach of the British army.

General Wellesley instantly perceived that not a moment was to be lost, and with a boldness of resolve, which shewed the vigour of his judgment, determined to move forward and force the enemy to a general engagement, although Colonel Stevenson's subsidiary division, which had marched by a different route, had not joined him as was expected.

Having adopted this resolution, he halted and refreshed his army, which had already, that morning, marched fourteen miles. He then moved forward, and after a further march of six miles (performed under the rays of a vertical sun), he came in sight of the enemy, who was posted with his right on the village of Bokerdun, and his left on that of Assye, on the northern bank of the river Kaitreah, near to the Adjuntee pass.

Scindeah's army consisted of thirty-eight thousand five hundred cavalry, ten thousand five hundred regular infantry, five hundred matchlocks, five hundred rocket-men, and one hundred and ninety pieces of ordnance.

Wellesley's army consisted only of four thousand five hundred men, of whom two thousand alone were Europeans—a frightful inequality, and hardly to be compensated, one would think, even by the superior discipline and coolness of the British army; but the eminent abilities of their leader made up the deficiency.

The British General approached in front of the enemy's right; but finding that he had posted his infantry and guns on the left, he resolved to make his attack there. Having made the necessary movement for that purpose, he placed the British cavalry in the rear, to cover the

infantry as they moved round; while on his right flank he stationed the cavalry of the Peishwah and Nizam.

He now forded the river beyond the left of the enemy; and having reached the opposite bank, formed his army in order of battle, extending his infantry in two lines, the British cavalry in a third as a reserve, and posting the auxiliary native force so as to cover the left flank of the whole, now menaced by a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had followed them from the right of its own position.

The enemy had commenced a distant cannonade, when General Wellesley evinced his intention of attacking their left, then changed their position with great steadiness, on clearly perceiving the mode in which they were to be attacked.

The British now advanced to the attack, under a most tremendous fire of nearly one hundred and fifty pieces of the enemy's ordnance, which was extremely well served. The English artillery, in their turn, opened upon the enemy, at an interval of about one hundred yards; but was soon rendered incapable of advancing, from the number of bullocks and men that had fallen.

This induced the English General to abandon his guns,

and try the event of a closer combat. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his whole line, and placing the British cavalry, under Colonel Maxwell, to cover his right, he advanced with an intrepidity and boldness which completely dismayed the Mahrattas.

Notwithstanding his numerous artillery, the enemy found himself unequal to withstand this charge, and was quickly compelled to retire upon his second line, which he had posted in front of the Juah river.

Here the seventy-fourth regiment, which covered the right of the British line, having suffered severely by the enemy's cannon, was charged by a body of Mahratta cavalry; but the British cavalry posted on the right, having repulsed them, charged in their turn, with such resistless impetuosity, that several of the enemy's battalions were driven into the Juah with immense slaughter.

The enemy's line now gave way in all directions, and were pursued by Colonel Maxwell at the head of the British cavalry across the Juah river, beyond which they were cut down in great numbers.

Several of the enemy's guns having been unavoidably left in the rear during the heat of the action, were at this

moment turned upon the British troops in advance, by the perfidious Mahrattas, who had thrown themselves on the ground, and were consequently passed unmolested by the English soldiers.

This circumstance encouraged some of the enemy's regular infantry battalions, which had retired in rather better order, to face about and commence a second action, which being maintained for a short time with great fury, made the fortune of the day again doubtful.

General Wellesley, however, with his usual gallantry, placing himself at the head of the seventy-eighth regiment, and seventh battalion of sepoys, compelled those parties who had seized the guns to surrender, though not without some further loss, and considerable personal danger to himself, having his horse shot under him: while the gallant Colonel Maxwell finished the destruction of the enemy, by charging with the nineteenth light dragoons the battalions which had rallied, which he entirely broke and dispersed, but unfortunately fell himself in the performance of this duty.

These last attacks proved decisive; the Mahrattas fled in all directions, their dead, amounting to twelve hundred,

covered the field, and their wounded strewed the adjoining country for miles.

Ninety-eight pieces of cannon, the whole camp equipage of the enemy, all their bullocks and camels, and a vast quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors.

I have been betrayed, by the very interesting nature of this battle, to enter into a much longer detail than I intended. But really when we consider that this victory was obtained by so small a number of British troops, over an enemy so immensely superior in numbers, comprising, at least, ten thousand regular infantry, formed, disciplined, and in part officered by Frenchmen, supported by the tremendous discharge of nearly one hundred pieces of cannon, served almost with the precision and science of French artillery, while hordes of Mahratta cavalry, to the amount of forty thousand, hovered around, ready to cut in upon, and annihilate the little band, if the smallest disorder or mistake had taken place during the engagement:—if we consider all these circumstances, conjoined with the glorious result which followed the engagement, we must rank this victory among the most brilliant which have ever been obtained by British courage and skill.

After this battle, General Wellesley turned his attention to the Rajah of Berar's army, which, after a most fatiguing and unremitted pursuit, from the 25th October until the 25th November, he succeeded in overtaking.

This army he defeated in the plains of Agram, in as decisive a manner as he had done that of Scindeah at Assye, capturing the whole of their elephants and baggage, thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition.

General Wellesley now turned his victorious arms against the only remaining fortress of any importance belonging to the enemy—an almost impregnable citadel named Gawilghar, seated on the summit of a steep hill.

On the night of the 12th December, the batteries were opened, and a practicable breach having been effected, on the morning of the 14th it was carried by escalade.

The war having been brought to a conclusion by this brilliant enterprize, the Rajah of Berar, terrified and amazed at the rapidity of General Wellesley's operations, determined on concluding a peace, without waiting for the concurrence of his ally Scindeah.

This was instantly made known to the British General,

and negotiations being set on foot on the 16th December, the treaty of peace between the British government in India and the Rajah of Berar was actually concluded the day following!

On the 30th December General Wellesley had the good fortune to conclude a peace with Scindeah. Both treaties were speedily ratified by the Governor-general at Calcutta, and excited the admiration of India, not only for the decision and dispatch with which these acts of diplomacy were executed, but for the moderation and equity which were evident in the conditions.

General Wellesley, in the whole of this contest, proved to the world that he possessed, in an eminent degree, those talents for council, as well as for the field, which cannot, without the greatest disadvantage, be separated.

The Mahratta war being thus brought to a conclusion, the General now found the reward of his victories in the gratitude and love of his countrymen. A sword, valued at one thousand pounds, was presented by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Thanks were voted to him by both houses of parliament; and his Sovereign honoured him with the insignia of the first military order in

Europe, by creating him a knight of the Bath. Added to which, the companions of his toils and dangers, as a token of their esteem and regard, presented him with a golden vase, of two thousand guineas value.

Early in the year 1805, Sir Arthur Wellesley, "loaded with wealth and honours bravely won," returned to his friends and native country.

Soon after his return, he accompanied Lord Cathcart in his expedition to Hanover, as commander of a brigade: and this army having again returned to England, he was appointed to the command of a district on the coast. On the death of the Marquis Cornwallis, he was gratified with the colonelcy of the thirty-third regiment, in which he had served thirteen years as lieutenant-colonel.

During the short-lived administration of Lord Grenville, Sir Arthur Wellesley represented an Irish borough in the British parliament, and took an active part in the debates, as far as they concerned his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, whose measures, while Governor-general of India, were then under discussion.

On the accession of the present Administration, he was

appointed chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and accompanied the Duke of Richmond thither.

When Lord Cathcart proceeded to the Baltic with the expedition against Copenhagen, Sir Arthur commanded a division; and again distinguished himself, by defeating a detachment of Danes near Kioge; by which victory sixty officers, and fifteen hundred men, with fourteen pieces of cannon, and a quantity of powder and ammunition, fell into our possession.

Soon after this event, Copenhagen having surrendered, Sir Arthur was employed, along with Sir Home Popham and Lieutenant-Col. Murray to conduct the capitulation.

The foregoing is a very slight and hasty sketch of the public life of this very distinguished and accomplished character, previously to his sailing on the 12th of July last from Cork. Slight however as it is, it may serve to shew you, how determined and resolute he is in all the enterprizes in which he engages, and with what wonderful rapidity he is accustomed to follow up every advantage as it occurs.

"——— On his piercing eye
Sat observation; on each glance of thought
Decision follow'd, as the thunderbolt
Pursues the flash."———HOMER.

I am the more disposed to dwell upon these features of his character, from the opinion which is at present entertained, of the great advantages which were forfeited to our country from his having been controuled in his measures after the battle of the 21st, at Vimiera; an opinion, in which I am more and more confirmed, by every thing which I have heard since my arrival in Lisbon.

Would you believe that Junot had the effrontery, on arriving here the day after his defeat at Vimiera, to announce that he had obtained a decisive victory over the English, and actually to force the inhabitants of Lisbon to illuminate splendidly on the occasion. But such are the unworthy arts by which the French manage to impose on the credulity of mankind.

LETTER XIV.

ANECDOTES OF THE FRENCH SOLDIERY.—THE RAPIDITY OF THEIR MARCHES.—SMALL VALUE ATTACHED TO THE LIVES OF SOLDIERS BY FRENCH OFFICERS.—ASSASSINATED IN GREAT NUMBERS BY THE PORTUGUESE PEASANTRY.—WRETCHED STATE OF THE FRENCH ON FIRST REACHING LISBON.—REFUSAL OF THE BISHOP OF OPORTO TO JOIN IN THE REGENCY.

Lisbon, 9th October, 1808.

THE forced marches made by the French troops, at different periods, during their stay in this country, appear almost incredible. A corps of troops (all *voltigeurs*) marched from Bayonne to Lisbon in thirty days.

The little value which the French officers set on their soldiers' lives, is equally astonishing. On their march from Lisbon to Evora, to quell a revolt of the Portuguese, they lost from sickness, fatigue, and assassination, four hundred men.

I have hitherto, without success, endeavoured to obtain

correct information as to the amount of the French troops which entered Portugal and Lisbon. The natives of the country assert, what indeed the French themselves admit, that their army has been thinned, in a most incredible manner, by assassination. The French Generals, however, appear to consider France as an inexhaustible nursery for soldiers.

On the first entry of Junot's troops into Lisbon (the fact is well authenticated), they were in so deplorable a state for want of food, and so exhausted by fatigue, that ten thousand men might, without difficulty, have annihilated them. I conversed with a well-informed inhabitant of Lisbon, who assured me, he saw more than one French soldier die in the street, on the day of their arrival, from fatigue and hunger.

At Torres Vedras too I learnt, that the peasantry there, taking advantage of the state of debility to which they were reduced, dispatched great numbers of them, whenever they caught them straggling in small parties about the villages. The weapons which the peasants made use of, in such cases, besides knives, were those quince-tree poles that I mentioned in one of my former letters, which are extremely hard and compact, resembling the foreign timber called *iron-wood*.

I cannot comprehend how the poorer inhabitants of Lisbon existed during the domination of Junot. A town, about two miles distant from Lisbon, on the sea coast, contains about seven thousand inhabitants, all of whom are fishermen: these poor people, for three months, were not allowed to quit their home, or exercise their trade. Many of these families absolutely perished in consequence of this merciless prohibition.

The patriotic Bishop of Oporto, one of those delegated by the Prince Regent to assume the reins of government during his absence, has refused to become a member of the new Regency, as proposed by Sir Hew Dalrymple. This decision of the Bishop's has caused various disturbances, particularly in Oporto, where it was found necessary to apprehend one hundred persons. The Bishop, though he refuses to take an ostensible share in the government, will continue to exert his influence in favour of the English interests.

LETTER XV.

LISBON—ITS DELIGHTFUL CLIMATE.—PICTURESQUE AND EVER VARYING SCENERY OF THE TAGUS.—GREAT INEQUALITY OF THE STREETS. GENERAL KELLERMANN—HIS NARROW ESCAPE FROM THE FURY OF THE PORTUGUESE POPULACE.—MONASTRY AT BELEM.—THE ROYAL PALACE.—PICTURE GALLERY.—ANTIQUE STATUES.

Lisbon, 12th Oct. 1808,
Rua Nova de Sacramento de Lapa.

I AM still anxiously on the look-out for letters from England, none of which I have yet received; but, although I feel much annoyed at this want of punctuality on your part, I shall not retaliate.

My present billet is in the house of a Portuguese merchant, in one of the streets in that quarter of Lisbon called Buenos Ayres. I find it very convenient, from its vicinity to the Estrella convent, where the general hospital is established.

The climate of Portugal, at this season, is particularly

agreeable, and I cannot help regretting that I am so soon to quit a place, with which I have every reason to be pleased.

Lisbon has been so often described, that you could learn little new from any remarks of mine. The shores of the Tagus, particularly on the other side, are steep and rugged; but the river, covered with shipping, presents an ever-varying picture, which, viewed from the situation where I now reside, under all the accidents of light and shade, twilight, mid-day, or a setting sun, displays a great variety of agreeable images.

I should admire the situation of Lisbon more, were it not for the extreme inequality of the ground on which it stands, which renders walking extremely fatiguing, nay, even laborious; and riding is dangerous and disagreeable, from the slipperiness of the stones. My rides, at present, are confined to the road between this and Belem, where I am attending General Sir Charles Stuart, who has been ill for some days of a feverish attack. He is now recovering.

I had an opportunity yesterday of seeing there, for a few minutes, the French General Kellermann, whose appearance certainly justifies what my friend * * * remarks in his

journal. The General was in coloured clothes, which did not add much to the dignity of his appearance, and I confess I lifted my eyebrows a little, when he announced himself to Major Burke, General Stuart's major of brigade. Kellermann's face is rather defective in that feature which we are told in Hudibras, Talicotius was so dextrous in remedying; and this defect is rendered still more conspicuous by a number of odd-shaped pieces of black sticking plaster distributed over his visage.

A few evenings ago, he had been to dine with General * * *, and was on his return to the ship. Although it was dusk, he was recognized on the quay by the vindictive populace, who immediately set up a war-whoop, and, but for the active exertions of our sailors, who hurried him into a boat, he would soon have been dispatched to the gloomy banks of Cocytus. As it was, a raggamuffin had got a loaded pistol close to poor Kellermann's ear, and was in the very act of drawing the trigger, when a sailor, a disciple of Gulley's I suppose, put in so neat a blow on the fellow's temple, that he fell into the stern sheets of a boat close by, and the General, in rather bloody plight, was hurried on board.

This circumstance will shew you, how much the lower classes here love the French. Indeed, had not the spirit of

the superior orders been entirely extinct, fallen as this country undoubtedly is in the scale of European nations, the French might have found its conquest a matter of no small difficulty.

I should tell you that Kellermann is, together with the third division of the French army, detained here as a hostage for the safe return of the transports which have sailed to a French port with the other two divisions. Kellerman is very desirous to get away: his situation here is not quite so comfortable as formerly.

I have visited every place worth seeing at Belem, not omitting the beautiful church and convent, founded by Alphonso Henriquz, in 1145, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The church is a most superb building, and, excepting that at Batalha, perhaps the finest specimen of what is called the Arabesque Gothic in existence.

Camoens mentions this building in the Lusiad, when describing the pious mariners of Vasco de Gama, (the discoverer of India) invoking the blessing of the Almighty on their undertaking.

> Where foaming on the shore the tide appears,
> A sacred fane its hoary arches rears:
> Dim o'er the sea the evening shades descend,
> And at the holy shrine devout we bend;

There, while the tapers on the altar blaze,
Our prayers and earnest vows to Heaven we raise.
Safe thro' the deep, where every yawning wave
Still to the sailor's eye displays his grave;
Through howling tempests and through gulphs untry'd,
O mighty God! be thou our watchful guide.

MICKLE'S LUSIAD, Book iv.*

The body of the royal founder of the church, lies embalmed in a tomb, beneath the high altar; and four other kings are contained in as many huge sarcophagi of black marble, placed in niches in the nave.

This building was so severely agitated during the earthquake of 1755, that two of the huge columns which support its roof gave way. They have been supplied by two very mis-shapen masses of masonry.

The church contains several singular Arabesque carv-

* This solemn scene is thus mentioned in history :—"Aberat Olysippone prope littus quatuor passuum millia templum sanè religiosum et sanctum ab Henrico in honorem sanctissimæ virginis edificatum ***. In id Gama pridie illius diei, quo erat navem conscensurus, se recepit, ut noctem cum religiosis hominibus qui in ædibus templo conjunctis habitabant in precibus et votis consumeret. Sequenti die cum multi non illius tantum gratiâ, sed aliorum etiam, qui illi comites erant, convenissent, fuit ab omnibus in scaphis deductus. Neque solùm homines religiosi, sed reliqui omnes voce maximâ cum lachrymis à Deo precabantur ut benè et prosperè illa tam periculosa navigatio omnibus eveniret, et universi re benè gesta incolumes in patriam redirent."—See Mickle's Lusiad, Oxford Edition, 1778.

ings in wood; and there are some fresco paintings in a very handsome cloister adjoining, the subjects of which are the passion of our Saviour. There is also an original painting of St. Jerome, by Albert Durer, which hangs in the library belonging to the convent. From this library Junot had taken several valuable manuscripts, most of which he had been compelled to send back. But the monk who attended me regretted the loss of a most valuable *illuminated* manuscript bible, which he had succeeded in carrying off to France: "But the French are all robbers," said the monk, shrugging his shoulders, "all! all!!!"

Another building at Belem, which I have seen, is the royal palace. This is finely situated on the banks of the Tagus, of which it commands a delightful view. It is a humble building of wood, the Royal Family having, after the fatal earthquake, determined to avoid marble structures for the future. In this palace the Duc d'Abrantes had employed a great many workmen, to execute a number of additions and alterations which he had projected previous to his taking possession of it. Till his departure he had resided in the mansion of a rich Portuguese merchant at Lisbon. Belem palace is still crowded with the scaffolding which had been erected, in completing a large audience-chamber for the invader, the walls of which are

nearly covered with basso-relievos, in the worst French style, and of the most absurd and preposterous inventions.

On entering a gallery, I was introduced to an old gentleman, who shewed me a very beautiful cabinet of pictures, which the French had packed up with great care, and were about to carry away very snugly, when they were detected, and the spoils brought back to the palace.

This collection contains some fine specimens of the art. Among others, a Susanna by Vandyck; an exquisite easel picture by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, the subject of which is his own family, grouped as saints—the colouring of St. Sebastian quite enchanting; two or three fine pictures by Gerard Douw, and many others, whose names and subjects I need not enumerate to you.

But there were two which particularly caught my attention, from their being the works of a very promising Portuguese artist, who died at an early period of life; his name is Vieira, the younger of that name. These pictures are very fine, and the more interesting, from being produced by the native of a country, which of late has done next to nothing in the fine arts.

The subjects of both these pictures are in the Lusiad · so that here we have the ideas of the best Portuguese poet represented by the pencil of a Portuguese painter.

One of the pictures is remarkable for its expression, and the beautiful way in which is represented the story of the unfortunate Inez de Castro, surrounded by her lovely babes, throwing herself at the feet of her inexorable murderer.

> Dragg'd from her bower by murd'rous ruffian hands,
> Before the frowning king fair Inez stands;
> Her tears of artless innocence, her air
> So mild, so lovely, and her face so fair,
> Mov'd the stern monarch; when with eager zeal
> Her fierce destroyers urg'd the public weal;
> Dread rage again the tyrant's soul possest,
> And his dark brow his cruel thoughts confest:
> O'er her pale face a sudden paleness spread,
> Her throbbing heart with generous anguish bled;
> Anguish to view her lover's hopeless woes,
> And all the mother in her bosom rose.
> Her beauteous eyes in trembling tear-drops drown'd
> To Heaven she lifted, but her hands were bound;
> Then on her infants turn'd the piteous glance,
> The look of bleeding woe; the babes advance
> Smiling in innocence of infant age
> Unawed, unconscious of their grandsire's rage.
>
> MICKLE'S LUSIAD, Book iii.

I hope you will pardon my inserting the passage at length, its beauty and pathos must form my apology.

Mickle has been very successful here—"The look of bleeding woe" is an exquisite expression—Is it not?

You cannot conceive how much I was gratified in finding that these two fine pictures were thus preserved to their native country. Sir Charles Cotton and Major-General Spencer, who were present, seemed to experience the same sensations. On leaving the gallery, I inquired for the two beautiful antique statues, which are mentioned with so much admiration by several travellers. These too had been packed up by the *ladrones*, but returned to their proper owner. One is a young Apollo, the other a piping faun. Both are exquisite, but the faun is, in my opinion, the better statue. It is almost equal to the Antinöus in juvenile grace. Adieu.

LETTER XVI.

ROYAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY AT AJUDA.—MASS OF NATIVE COPPER.—ELASTIC SAND-STONE.—CALCAREOUS DEPOSITIONS IN THE AQUEDUCT OF ALCANTARA.—REMARKABLE DUNGEON AT BELEM.—STATE OF THE PRISONS IN PORTUGAL.

Lisbon, 14th October, 1808.

HAVING heard much of the royal cabinet of natural history at Ajuda, near Belem, I yesterday took an opportunity of gratifying my curiosity.

It is contained in a handsome detached building behind the royal palace. There are two apartments, one comprising specimens of the mineral, the other of the animal kingdom. Adjoining is a small botanic garden. The specimens deposited in the Museum are not numerous; but several are very curious, one indeed altogether unique. It is a mass of native copper, brought from Brazil.

According to an inscription, which has been very injudi-

ciously made upon one of its sides, polished for the purpose, it was found in a valley two leagues from Cachocira, and fourteen from Bahia. Its weight is two thousand six hundred and sixteen pounds, its extreme length three feet two inches, its breadth two feet and half an inch, and its greatest thickness two feet four inches. Its upper surface is unequal, and in part covered with iron ore and malachite.

Besides this, there is also a considerable piece of elastic sand-stone, the surface of which is covered with calcareous crystals.

I was much struck by a large tube of calcareous earth, taken from one of the pipes of the aqueduct of Alcantara. It is a convincing proof of the very great quantity of carbonate of lime held in solution by the water which is drank here. Indeed the person who shews the Museum told us, that it was necessary to clean out the pipes at stated intervals, every five years I think he said, to prevent their calibre from being entirely choaked up.* This

* It is probably owing rather to the effects of this water on the constitution, than to the salubrity of its atmosphere, that Lisbon has obtained so great a reputation in consumptive cases. The water of the Clifton spring likewise contains a considerable proportion of lime; and its beneficial effects depend, as many physicians believe, upon the strength of this impregna-

stalactite or petrefaction had been formed within five years, and being at least six inches in thickness all round, a very small cavity had been left in the centre for the water to pass through.

Among the specimens from the animal kingdom, I remarked a fine hippopotamus, a rhinoceros, and some other rare quadrupeds, well preserved. Most of the articles are placed in mahogany glazed cases, and are all arranged according to the Linnæn system.*

In returning from the Museum, I was asked by a friend to survey an extraordinary dungeon behind the palace. We descended about thirty feet, and entered a small vaulted chamber, which was paved with marble flags, in the floor of which we observed six or seven circular pits, barely large enough to contain a human body in a sitting posture. To each pit was accurately fitted a ponderous marble co-

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tion. If so, the spring of Montelavar ought to be much more efficient than that of Clifton, since it contains a much greater proportion of the carbonate of lime; and it would therefore be better if all invalids who repair to Lisbon were to reside at the village of Montelavar, and drink the water at its source, before it has deposited a great proportion of the lime in its passage through the aqueduct to Lisbon. For an analysis of this water, see Vol. I. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon.

* The French had attempted to steal several chests of Natural History from this Museum, but were prevented from effecting it, owing to the firm interference of General Beresford and Lord Proby.

vering, pierced with a square hole in the centre, to admit air. In these pits, I was informed, that the unfortunate conspirators against the life of the late king Joseph the First, had been imprisoned by the sanguinary Marquis de Pombal, previously to their execution on a scaffold before his palace, on the 18th January, 1759.

The Portuguese have long been notorious all over Europe for the inhuman cruelty of their punishments, and the dreadful state of their prisons. Formerly, when a person was obnoxious to the government, he suddenly disappeared, and was rarely ever heard of again.

Imprisonment in the Bastile must have been a mere joke to that of a Portuguese dungeon. I am almost petrified by the horrible accounts which have come to my ears on this subject, since I have been in Lisbon.

Many of the cells are, I am told, on a level with the Tagus, with which they communicate, so that a foot of water, or more, flows in every tide; and in these the victims of despotism and superstition, linger out a miserable existence.

Sterne has touched upon this subject, in his affecting

tale of Corporal Trim's poor brother Tom; and I never pass the door of a sausage shop, or through the square before the Inquisition, but I think either of that unfortunate youth, or of his more celebrated fellow-sufferer, poor Pangloss. Adieu.

LETTER XVII.

THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1755—APPEARANCES STILL EXISTING.—A VOTIVE TABLET IN THE CHURCH OF THE ESTRELLA CONVENT.—BITUMEN OFTEN FOUND IN THE TAGUS.—THERMAL SPRINGS.—GENEROSITY OF THE BRITISH NATION IN 1755 STILL GRATEFULLY MENTIONED BY THE PORTUGUESE.—FINE TRAIT IN A PORTUGUESE NOBLEMAN.

Lisbon, 16th October, 1808.

I HAVE this day been favoured with your letter of the 12th of last month, and am truly happy to receive such good accounts of your improving health. I shall not fail to answer all your inquiries as I proceed; indeed you will find, on the receipt of my last letters, that I have already anticipated some of your requests.

As to the earthquake of 1755, (when to make use of the words of Seneca—'Inter magnam urbem et nullam nox una interfuit') one is constantly reminded of that dreadful calamity, on walking the streets situated near the

river and Praça de Commercio. Immense masses of ruined churches and convents rise up in all directions among the modern buildings; while the perpendicular mounds on which they stand, exhibiting the fractured stratums of rocks, clearly demonstrate the nature of the convulsion which caused the destruction of the incumbent buildings.

An entire city swallowed up in one instant, presents to the human mind the idea of a scene so extremely terrific, that, on a first glance, one feels a difficulty to comprehend it; but if you lay hold of a single incident, the domestic tale, for example, of a private family, one or two members of which were providentially preserved, while the rest perished in the common ruin, you may conceive, in some measure, the heart-rending scenes of which I speak.

I was led to make this reflection, by casting my eyes accidentally, the other day, on a small votive tablet, suspended in the interior of the church in the Estrella convent. It is a picture containing an humble representation of a very affecting little episode, which formed a part of this grand epic of human misery.

A man and his wife, seized with terror, had rushed into

the street on the first alarm, and in an instant beheld their home a mass of ruins. After the first moments of horror, they missed their only child, whom they had left within in a cradle. You may conceive their distress. Invoking the almighty Author of their being, they vowed to bestow a sum of money on the church of the Estrella convent, if it should please Him to spare their first-born's life. It was discovered alive amid the ruins, curiously nestled under some rafters, which by falling obliquely over it, had saved it from destruction. They performed their vow, and this tablet commemorates the event.

Earthquakes are still common here, especially towards the month of November. Two or three slight shocks are generally felt every year.

Bitumen is often found floating in the waters of the Tagus, and in the lower part of the city, there are some thermal springs. The waters of one of these have been collected, and furnish some baths. I have used them, and find that their heat is about eighty-eight degrees; that is two degrees higher than Buxton. The water appears to be slightly impregnated with sulphur, the sulphurated hydrogen gas.

These are pretty strong proofs, I think, that subterra-

neous combustion is constantly going on here, which may again prove fatal to this city.*

The Portuguese frequently talk of the generosity which the English evinced to them, after the calamity of 1755; and I have very lately heard some of the people assert, that their countrymen can never forget their benefactors. I hope they never will, least of all at the present crisis.

The better classes of Portuguese often evince some fine traits of character; traits that do honour to the human heart. I can illustrate this by an anecdote which has fallen, within these few days, under my own observation.

An English officer requested me to visit his wife, a very beautiful woman, to whom he was much and sincerely attached, not only for her own excellent qualities, but as

* Professor Link remarks—"It is particularly striking that basalt is only to be found in those two parts of Portugal, Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, where the earthquake of 1755 was most violent; and this circumstance is thought to confirm the opinion that basalt, covering great strata of coal, furnishes materials for subterraneous fires, and thus gives rise to earthquakes and volcanoes; but it must not be forgotten that Belem, which partly stands on a basalt hill, suffered less from that earthquake than some parts of the town, evidently founded upon limestone; perhaps the basalt had at some former period been forced up from these parts by a similar convulsion; and the shocks which Lisbon has felt from time to time, are attempts of Nature to raise similar hills." See Link's Journey through Portugal. London, 1801, page 182.

the mother of three beautiful children, all in a state of infancy. On going to his quarters, I found her in the last stage of a remittent fever, a disease which has been very prevalent and fatal among our troops. I need not harass your feelings by depicting one of those scenes, which men of my profession are so often called on to witness. It was the tenth day of the fever. Her soul was on the wing—and by the same evening she had breathed her last.

Her unfortunate husband, while he felt her loss as the greatest calamity that could have befallen him, strove to stifle his sufferings as he caressed his lisping babes, who demanded when their mamma would return.

With three helpless infants, in the midst of a foreign country, he was under orders to march with his regiment to Spain. Divided between a sense of public and private duty, what could he do? He was advised to apply to Sir John Moore, for leave to carry his children to England. His wishes could not be complied with. "Never mind, my dear friend," said the generous Portuguese noble in whose house he is billeted, "cease to grieve, unfortunate Englishman, leave your infants with me: Behold my three daughters, they shall each discharge the duties of a mother to one of your infants, and I will be as a father to the whole." "So we will, my dear father," cried his daugh-

ters. This was too much for Captain * * * * *, and he hastened out of the room.

I have this moment learnt that Sir John Moore has granted my friend leave to return to England, on being fully informed of his situation. He is an excellent man, much esteemed by all who have the pleasure to know him, and will carry home with him the best wishes of this army. Adieu.

LETTER XVIII.

SIR JOHN MOORE'S ARMY SETTING OFF FOR SPAIN—MARCHES IN THREE DIVISIONS.—UNPOPULAR MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE REGENCY.—CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST IN THE CHURCH OF ST. ROCHE.—THE PORTUGUESE THEATRE.

Lisbon, 22d October, 1808.

I AM preparing, my dear friend, to set out for Spain, and have been engaged in purchasing animals for the carriage of my baggage. Great part of the army is already on its march; our department will follow in two days hence.

You know that Sir John Moore is chief in command of the army going into Spain; and that Sir Harry Burrard is to remain at the head of military affairs in Portugal.

The fortieth and eighty-second regiments, being rather sickly, are to remain here; all the rest of the army is in excellent condition. It appears a very long march from hence to Salamanca or Burgos, particularly as the roads in

this country are intolerably bad; but I hope that we shall make it out notwithstanding pretty well.

The army moves forward in three columns: the right, comprising the artillery and cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-General Hope, will proceed by the route of Elvas and Badajos, towards Madrid. The left by way of Coimbra and Viseu to Almeida and Cuidad Rodrigo. While the centre will go up the right bank of the Tagus, by the way of Santarem and Abrantes, through Villa Velha, Castel Branco, and Guarda, towards Almeida and Cuidad Rodrigo. Sir John Moore's head-quarters will proceed by the central route, which is also that of the medical staff.

Several corps have been for some time cantoned in advance towards the Spanish frontiers; these will of course move on first, and as the army will proceed by single corps from town to town, the men will be by that means put under cover each night, which will be an effectual method of guarding against sickness.

The Regency here have made themselves very unpopular of late, by a singular measure of finance, the object of which is to depress the current value of the Spanish dollars, in which the British army has in general been paid. Our Paymaster-general has for some time made payments in

gold Spanish pieces, which have also suffered a considerable depreciation. The troops grumble a good deal at this; and so do the trading part of the Portuguese. Many of the latter, who held any quantity of Spanish money, have lost considerably: I believe nearly fourpence on each dollar. From this fact you may judge of the political sagacity the Regency.

I regret leaving Portugal without having been able to visit Cintra, which is celebrated here as a sort of terrestrial paradise; but I have been so much occupied, that I have lost many sights, which I wished to have been able to describe to you.

I have, however, examined with attention the celebrated chapel of St. John the Baptist, which is certainly a *chef-d'œuvre* of magnificence. It is unfortunately placed in an old church dedicated to St. Roche; and much of its beauty is lost from the want of a sufficiency of light to distinguish its parts. There being only one window, which is at the extremity of the building, the few rays of light which enter are thrown obliquely past the Mosaic chapel, without illuminating it.

This chapel contains three very fine Mosaic pictures, copied from the works of Raphael and Guido. That over

the altar is the Annunciation, and on the right and left are the baptism of our Saviour by St. John. and the descent of the Holy Ghost. The altar is composed of lapis lazuli and amethyst, round which is a broad gold margin. The pavement is also wrought in Mosaic; and the pillars are blocks of jasper, verd antique, Egyptian granite, lapis lazuli, and alabaster. The doors by which you enter this chapel are of brass, exquisitely wrought and gilt; in the centre is suspended a large golden lamp. I am afraid to mention the immense sum which this oratory is said to have cost. It was made at Rome for king John the Fifth; and after having been erected there, and consecrated by the Pope, was pulled down, and sent hither by sea.

In the church is a singular old painting of St. Roche, painted in a hard gothic manner; but the expression of the Saint's head is delightful. I forget, however, that you are not quite so foolishly fond of pictures as I am, and I must curtail my notices on works of art for the future.

There is here a good opera-house, but there has been no performance in it since my arrival from Torres Vedras. Once I have seen a Portuguese play, but could not find enough of amusement to induce me to wish for a repetition. We are likewise exposed, in going home at midnight, to cascades from the windows of the inhabitants. Our friend

F*** experienced this fact a few evenings ago. He was going in a cabriolet, dressed *cap-a-pee*, to a gay party ; hearing some unusual noise in the street, he leant forwards, and put out his head from beneath the leather curtains, to inform himself of the cause. In a moment he was deluged with the torrent of a stream from one of those reservoirs ; and instead of shining away at the ball, was obliged to return to his quarters, and no doubt showered a volley of blessings on the cleanly Portuguese. Junot had made some severe laws on this head ; but since his departure, the inhabitants have relapsed into all their filthy customs.

Had one-half of the money paid for St. John the Baptist's chapel been laid out by king John, in the construction of common sewers, this city might have been at this day as cleanly as any in Europe, and the name of his Majesty endeared to posterity, for having conferred so great a benefit on the inhabitants of this capital.

LETTER XIX.

THE CHURCH OF MOUNT CALVARY.—ROAD TO SACCAVEM.—PORTUGUESE HOSPITALITY.—PICTURESQUE SITUATION OF SACCAVEM.—SALT-WORKS ON THE BANKS OF THE TAGUS.—VILLA-FRANCA DE XIRA—ITS ORIGIN.

Villa Franca de Xira, 28th Oct. 1808.

I ARRIVED here this day, having left Lisbon yesterday, in company with my friend Dr. D***, who is to be my *compagnon de voyage*.

Having passed the Praza de Commercio and Admiralty, we quitted Lisbon by the eastern extremity, and soon found ourselves on a raised terrace, which runs along the shores of the Tagus for a considerable distance. We passed on our right some handsome and picturesque buildings, which throw here and there a wide arch over the road. The Tagus now loses all appearance of a river, and assumes that of a noble lake, its glittering bosom covered with many a latteen-rigged vessel, and the high distant mountains

beyond Aldea Gallego, vanishing in the vapour of the southern horizon, formed a fine scene on the right.

On passing a church which stands close to the road, my servant, who is a native of Swisserland, and has resided many years in Lisbon, recommended to us to dismount, and look at the interior. The objects which he considered so remarkable, constituted a representation of Mount Calvary, with the figures of our Saviour, &c. cut in wood, the dimensions of life. In the centre was the crucifixion, on one hand the scene of the Mount of Olives, on the other the bearing of the cross; and in a cave beneath the whole, was represented the sepulchre, with the attendant angels. All these figures are coloured in imitation of nature.

We soon turned away from this Gothic exhibition with disgust, but were amply repaid for our trouble on entering the church. It is cased with a beautiful grey marble, and adorned with a number of very elegant Corinthian columns. A vaulted roof, of an oval shape, and remarkably well proportioned, covers the whole edifice. This church is not crowded with gilding and tawdry tinsel ornaments, like the generality in this country; and indeed struck us as altogether the finest structure which we had seen in Portugal. It is called the church of Mount Calvary.

On getting clear of the buildings of the suburbs, we entered a country covered with vineyards and olive plantations, enclosed with high stone walls. The leaves of the vines had put on the livery of autumn, and contrasted agreeably with the dark green of the olives, now bending under their ripening berries.

We passed several cheerful quintas overhanging the lake, and at five o'clock in the afternoon reached the village of Saccavem, seven miles distant from Lisbon. Here we received a billet upon the house of a Portuguese hidalgo, named De La Mottaye. Having approached the house, and presented the ticket of the Juez de Foro, we were shewn into a spacious well-furnished apartment, while our servants were conducted to the stable-yard with our horses and baggage mules.

On returning from the village where we dined, we were received by the lady of the house, who very politely offered us tea, which we accepted. On finding that I could speak a little Portuguese, she entered into conversation with me, and I found from her discourse that her husband, whose absence in Lisbon she regretted, was a flag-officer in the Portuguese navy. She added, that he had held an important command, for some years, on the coast of Brazil, to which country she had accompanied him; and where, she

said, the elder of her two children (whom she promised to introduce to us in the morning), had been born.

Understanding, from what accidentally fell from me, that I had been for a time in South America, she entered into a very interesting description of the settlement of Pernambuco, and the town of La Recifio; and her observations left us impressed with a very favourable opinion of her acuteness and judgment.

After a conversation of some length she retired, and sent in a male cook, to know what we wished for supper. On our declining that repast, he brought us in a bottle of a most delicious light red wine, and wished us good night. We then separated for our respective chambers, which had been carefully prepared for us, found most excellent beds, and went to rest, not a little satisfied with so pleasant a commencement of our march.

On rising this morning, we met a young lady in the hall, waiting to introduce her two little pupils, the daughters of Signora La Mottaye. By them we were invited to walk through the pleasure grounds. The house stands on the side of a small hill, commanding a view of the lake of Saccavem and the Tagus to the right, and some olive grounds on the slope of an adjoining hill to

the left. In the bottom lies a small hamlet, half hid by rocks and olive plantations, through which curled many a wreath of blue smoke, illuminated by the rising sun.

The garden contains a small fountain, surrounded by high myrtle and box hedges, a grotto of shell-work, and a variety of rare South American shrubs. Close adjoining is a huge draw-well (the indispensible requisite of a Portuguese garden), from which the water is conveyed by means of an aqueduct to the offices of the house. The garden communicates with the latter by a broad gravel walk, sheltered from the sun by the trellises of a thriving *pariera*, now loaded with the ripe clusters of the high-flavoured muscatell.

On returning to breakfast, we observed the folding doors of an adjoining room thrown open, discovering a small oratory, richly decorated. A priest in his canonicals was here waiting to perform mass to the lady of the house and her tenants, as it was the festival of a favourite saint. We therefore lost no time in ordering our horses, and having made every acknowledgment to Signora La Mottaye for her politeness and hospitality, we pursued our march.

Having crossed the lake of Saccavem in a bark, we had

an opportunity of admiring the rural situation of the village and church. The latter stands on the banks of the water, which in fact is only the union of five small streams, which here flow into the Tagus. Saccavem forms the right of a strong position, which may be taken up with advantage for the defence of Lisbon; the village of Lumiar, forming the centre, covers the high-road to Oporto; while the left is protected by the heights of Bellas, and the right by the lake of Saccavem.

Our route conducted us along the banks of the Tagus. To the right we passed some extensive salt-works; one which we examined, covered at least twelve or thirteen acres of ground. The process of this manufacture is extremely simple. Pits of various dimensions are formed in the flats adjoining the river, into which the water is admitted, by a sluice, at full tides. After having evaporated for some time in the reservoirs, it is allowed to flow into a series of small pits, in the least of which it only forms a stratum, two or three inches in depth: crystallization now takes place, and the salt is raked up on the banks to filter. When dry, it is conveyed in wheelbarrows to form an immense heap, which is covered with thatch, to prevent the action of the weather.

On our left we passed many handsome quintas, sur-

rounded with rich plantations of orange and olive trees, and, after an agreeable ride, we reached this village to dinner.

Villa Franca carries on a considerable intercourse by means of small craft with Lisbon, and forms a sort of halting place to boats going or returning to Santarem. What renders it, however, very interesting to an Englishman is a tradition, which states, that when Don Alonzo, or Alphonso the First, conquered Lisbon from the Moors, he was most materially assisted by a fleet of adventurers, who were going on a crusade to the Holy Land, the greatest part of whom were English. These men afterwards settled in Portugal, and peopled both the villages Almada, at the mouth of the Tagus, and Villa Franca, which they called Cornualla.*

The village itself is mean and uninteresting enough, except on the quay, where there is all the bustle usually attendant on a little sea-port.

Sir John Moore, it is said, passed through this place in the morning. General Clinton is at present unwell at

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* Vide Mickle's Lusiad, Oxford Edition, 1778.

Lisbon: but will soon, I hope, be so much recovered as to come up with the army, before it reaches the Spanish frontier.

I shall write to you again on arriving at Santarem, which is two days march from hence. Mean time adieu.

LETTER XX.

VILLAGE OF AZAMBUJA.—CITY OF SANTAREM—ITS ANTIQUITY—DELIGHTFUL SITUATION.—VIEW OVER THE TAGUS AND ADJOINING COUNTRY.

Santarem, 30th October, 1808.

I wrote to you two days ago from the town of Villa Franca, our second stage from Lisbon. We arrived yesterday at a village called Azambuja.

The road, after quitting Villa Franca, was for some miles very picturesque; hedged with plants of aloes and Indian fig, it conducted us through a country interspersed with several villages and orchards. But for some miles before entering Azambuja, the country becomes flat and dreary, composed entirely of corn lands, without any houses, and few inclosures. During the winter, the flat country is generally laid under water, by the inundations of the Tagus. The river comes down, swollen by the rains and melting of the snows, which fall on its

parent mountains, and arriving at this level track, sweeps every thing before it; consequently, in winter, the traveller is obliged to make a considerable *detour* in going from Lisbon to Santarem. Azambuja is a mean straggling village, devoid of interest, and without any picturesque accompaniments.

We were billeted on the house of a wealthy farmer, who received us with much hospitality. He was of a very inquisitive disposition, and embarrassed us not a little by a variety of questions respecting the convention, which we found very difficult to be answered. He seemed much dissatisfied upon the whole with that measure, and regretted extremely that we had not hanged General Loisson, whom he described as the greatest scoundrel in existence.

This morning we left Azambuja, and, after travelling over a country pleasantly diversified with vines, corn, and olives, we reached Santarem.

Here we received a billet upon the house of a beneficed clergyman, who had just returned from mass. When we had explained the errand on which we came, which indeed he seemed to understand, the first moment of our appearance, he got into a great fury, abusing the Juez, who, he said, had certainly a spite against him, which he indulged

by billeting on him half the English officers who came to Santarem. He at the same time took from a little drawer a small handful of billets, "*Regardez Messieurs, regardez donc,*" he exclaimed, thus justifying himself for his want of temper. "You perceive," continued he, "what a fellow he is, all these officers have I had billeted upon me, since your army commenced its march."

We would not suffer him to proceed further, but immediately told him we should have the billet exchanged. He then began to express his great regard for our nation, and the gratitude which he felt to the British army for their exertions in the cause of Spain. We thanked him for his good wishes, and returned to the Juez de Foro. I had not forgotten the beneficed clergyman at Mafra, and rejoiced to think that it was not midnight, and that it was now in our power to get our billet exchanged. In our second attempt we proved more fortunate, although again billeted upon an ecclesiastic. Indeed this town contains hardly any other class. He received us with open arms, and requested we would command himself, his house, and all it contained. Two mattrasses were placed on the floor, on which we passed the night very comfortably.

This day the sky became overcast with dark clouds,

and the rain now descends in torrents. Fortunately we are to halt here, and I cannot amuse myself better than by giving you a description of Santarem.

In magnitude and importance, this city ranks immediately after Oporto. Its origin is very remote. In ancient history it bears the name of SCALABIS. It now contains thirteen churches, fourteen convents, several hospitals, and an academy, founded in the year 1747, in which there are professors of history and belles lettres. Here are the ruins of a citadel, and remains of Moorish walls. Santarem makes a very considerable figure in the early history of the Portuguese monarchy.

In the year 1146 it became a conquest to the Moors, who retained it until they were expelled by King Alphonso, who obtained here a glorious victory. The whole force of the Moors, commanded by their King, Joseph, was entirely routed, their king being killed by a fall from his horse, just as the battle began. They immediately fled from the field, most of them returning into Africa.

Nor long his falchion in the scabbard slept,
His warlike arm increasing laurels reapt,
From Leyria's walls the baffled Ismar flies
And strong Arroncha falls his conquered prize.
That honor'd town through whose Elysian groves
Thy smooth and limpid wave, O Tagus, roves.

> The illustrious SANTAREM confest his power,
> And vanquish'd Mafra yields her proudest tower.
> MICKLE'S LUSIAD, Book III.

This place now contains about eight thousand inhabitants. The streets are extremely narrow, and dirty to a degree. A great many of the churches, and a still greater number of houses, are completely in ruins; and the whole place bears the marks of pristine grandeur, united to slow but sure decay. The situation is noble indeed: the summit of a lofty hill, overlooking the Tagus down to its very mouth, and commanding a view of the metropolis.

I walked with my host this morning to a spot, from whence Santarem appears to great advantage. The point of sight is a Benedictine convent, on an eminence a little to the eastward of the town, from which it is separated by a deep ravine, enclosing the road leading to Abrantes. On the right are the towers and aspiring domes of Santarem. The Tagus, at present a shallow stream, winds beneath, amid huge banks of golden sands; on his further bank stretches a most fertile country, well clothed with wood, amid which you can just distinguish the ruined walls of Almeira.

On looking up the river to the left, the eye ranges over a prospect equally grand and magnificent. On this side,

the view is only bounded by the distant mountains of Abrantes and Villa Velha, the Alpine forms of which are amazingly grand, and mingle with the clouds. I have seen nothing to compare with this view, except that of the Forth from the ramparts of Stirling castle, which we have often contemplated together with so much rapture.

When the rain abates, I shall look about in the town, and send you an account of what I may observe. Mean time adieu.

LETTER XXI.

A FESTIVAL DAY.—PROCESSIONS OF MONKS.—MODE OF BEGGING PRACTISED BY THE MONASTIC ORDERS—ITS EFFECTS.

Santarem, 31st October, 1808.

This morning the rain ceased, and I walked over the town, but I have found nothing worthy of notice. Here and there indeed are some exquisite specimens of Gothic sculpture around the doors of a few churches; but no mass of building that claims particular attention.

At every step, we here meet misery and superstition. This is another of the *few* festival days in this country, and the streets have been covered all the morning with processions of monks and priests. It was truly ludicrous to see these sturdy fellows, all tricked out in tattered surplices, bawling, like Stentors, their hymns to the Virgin; at the same time that they were carefully picking their steps close to the walls of the houses, and when by accident they happened to make a false step a little towards

the middle of the street, souse they went at once up to the knees in mud.

Beggary in this country is carried to a most extraordinary height; but there are two distinct classes of mendicants in Portugal: the mendicants of indigence, misery, and starvation, and those of superstition, arrogance, and hypocrisy. They carry on an eternal competition with each other; and so unequal are the weapons with which they fight, and so different their mode of waging war on the public purse, that you daily find, in all the large towns of the kingdom, the beggars of indigence expiring in the very streets where their opponents are among the best fed and best lodged inhabitants.

The former, though perishing with hunger and cold, seldom prefers a request. He casts his watery eye on the first benevolent countenance he beholds, and in silence awaits the result of that appeal. If he receives charity, he is grateful; if not, he raises his eyes to Heaven, and steals away to the dark corner which shelters him from the wind.

But a very different mode is adopted by the latter: Collected in a body of five or six persons, they arm themselves with a crucifix, or a wooden image, or a picture,

and bearing a few lighted tapers, they sally forth after sun-set, through the streets of the towns, roaring forth the most discordant notes in praise of St. Francis, or the Madonna; while a few imps, whom they keep in pay, and who are well instructed for the purpose, run before the procession, and with a large stone or huge cudgel thunder at the door of each house, till the owner, trembling for his locks and hinges, starts from his bed, curses the disturbers of his repose, and chucking a testoon, or a couple of vintains, out of his window, creeps back to his miserable straw pallet, and wishes from the bottom of his soul that the whole crew of Franciscans, Benedictines, and bare-footed Carmelites were in the lowest depth of purgatory.

LETTER XXII.

UNPLEASANT RUMOURS.—A PORTUGUESE PREACHER.—THE OMNIPOTENCE OF THE VIRGIN MARY.—EXHORTATION TO CHARITY—ITS EFFECTS.

Santarem, 2d November, 1808.

We have been waiting till this day for orders to move forwards. There are some reports here that the troops in front have been halted, from a difficulty of procuring the necessary supplies of forage and provisions. I hope we shall find on our road that these difficulties are exaggerated by rumour.

My friend D*** and I went into a church yesterday evening, to hear a celebrated popular preacher from Lisbon hold forth; his mode of delivery was energetic and impressive, and the church was crowded at an early hour.

In the course of his lecture the preacher alluded, naturally

enough, to the important events which had lately taken place in this country. In his discourse, however, he carefully avoided all allusion to the English troops. He extolled the valour of his brave countrymen in arms; but the grand agent in the whole scene was the Virgin Mary. It was she who had expelled the ravagers of Portugal, it was she who fought all their battles, it was she who could raise the drooping family of Braganza, and re-establish the glory and prosperity of Portugal; and, finally, he concluded by requesting they would not forget to confer a trifling donation on himself, the humble apostle, inspired with the gift of tongue by the Holy Ghost, and their most unceasing mediator with the immaculate and beatified Madonna.

His hearers swallowed his words with as much eagerness and genuine faith, as those in St. Stephen's Chapel listen to the Minister bringing in a new budget, declaring to each other that the orator, Don Jose Palavro, was no doubt a favourite of Heaven, and pulling out their leathern purses, poured their contents, coppers, testoons, and testers, into the huge pewter reservoir of the church.

LETTER XXIII.

ROAD FROM SANTAREM TO GOLEGAM.—OLIVE GROUNDS.—MODE OF COLLECTING THE OLIVES.—HERDS OF SWINE.—RAINBOWS.—GOLEGAM.—A VENERABLE CHARACTER—HIS HOSPITALITY.—LIBRARY.—CIVILITY OF THE INHABITANTS OF GOLEGAM.—VILLAGE OF CARDIGA.—BEAUTIFUL LANDSCAPE.—FLOURISHING VILLAGE OF BARQUINHA.

Tancos, 3d November, 1808.

We quitted Santarem yesterday forenoon, and reached a village called Golegam, where we slept. This morning we arrived here.

On leaving Santarem, we descended the hill by a steep ravine, at the bottom of which lies the lower town, which is reckoned very unhealthy, and contains a few mean houses, inhabited chiefly by boat-builders, &c. We then passed by a single arch over a small stream, and found ourselves in a spacious plain, laid out in corn-fields, consisting of a fine deep loam, the richest soil which I have met with in Portugal. About two miles further on,

we reached a pleasant lane, bordered with tall aspin-leaved poplars, inclosing rich vineyards.

Proceeding to Ponte Almonda, we passed a low sand-hill, covered with olives, where we found the peasantry employed in collecting the ripe berries. Under the trees they spread a large cloth, and by means of a hook, fastened to the end of a long pole, they lay hold of the branches, which are shaken until the fruit drops off. It is then collected in small hand-baskets, and carried home to be subjected to the oil-press.

On descending these hills, which interrupt the plain only for a short distance, we observed several large herds of swine feeding on a common. There must have been at least three hundred in each herd. Almost all the swine I have seen in Portugal are jet black, well-proportioned, and fat; they are well fed, and their flesh is of a peculiarly fine flavour. This flavour may in part be attributed to the husks of the grape, which, after having gone through the process of the wine-press, are dried in the sun, and furnish a most nutritious article of food for the hogs during the winter.

Throughout our ride to Golegam, the Tagus flowed on the right, and a high ridge of mountains rose at some

miles distance on our left. The day was showery, and at intervals we were gratified with the sight of several rainbows, which made the scene more beautiful, as they dipt into the dark glens of the distant mountains, over which the bright clouds were rolled together in grand majestic forms. The scene was diversified by the large flitting masses of light and shade, and compensated to me for a severe wetting; but my friend D*** wished the clouds, showers, and rainbows at the devil.

On reaching Golegam, we found the gallant fiftieth just arrived. This regiment had set out from Santarem some hours before us, and had thus escaped the showers. D*** and I got a billet upon the house of a venerable old man of seventy, who received us with much urbanity, and on learning that we were *medicos*, embraced us with open arms, and welcomed us under his hospitable roof.

After having put up our horses and dried our clothes, we sat down to a well-dressed repast. The old gentleman did the honors of his table with great *eclat*, recommending a few goblets of his best wine, which he produced to us, as being, he said, members of a profession to which he had himself devoted a long and active life. This veteran was no follower of Sangrado, but commended the

juice of the grape, which, he said, was "*le meilleur lait des vieillards*;" and we found we could not gratify him more than by emptying the second bottle.

He now displayed his library with great pride. It contained a very well chosen collection of books, historical as well as medical. He paid our nation many compliments on the additions we had made to the sciences, particularly that of medicine. He pointed out to me the works of my illustrious countrymen, Brown and Cullen. He was ignorant of English, but had studied them in their French translations. Huxham, Sydenham, and many other works of English physicians, also graced his shelves. Understanding that D*** and myself had studied physic at Edinburgh, he put a variety of questions respecting that university, and our answers seemed to afford him much pleasure.

He was very curious to learn the particular appearances of the Aurora Borealis, and regretted that a country so fertile, as he was pleased to say, in intellect, should be condemned to such short days, and dreary severe winters. The length of our days in summer seemed to shake his faith; he did not appear to conceive it probable that in Caithness and the Orkneys, it should sometimes be so little dark at

midnight, that the smallest printed books may be read without the aid of a lamp. His geographical books, he said, had so informed him, but till now he had been incredulous.

Golegam is a very neat well-built town. The streets are much wider and cleaner than any I have seen in Portugal; and, if I may judge from the number of newly built houses, it is rapidly increasing. Our entertainer, however, told us, that it was rather unhealthy, its inhabitants being very subject to agues, which, he said, arose from the Tagus frequently overflowing its low banks, and inundating the adjoining country.

One of the inhabitants of Golegam gave a party in the evening to the officers of the fiftieth, to which we were invited, but declined going, our drenching in the morning rendering our beds more attactive than the black eyes of the Portuguese ladies.

After breakfast this morning, we embraced our venerable host, who requested we would return to his house, if the fortune of war should again lead us to Golegam, and with sentiments of much esteem for this respectable old man, we quitted the village.

The road from Golegam passes through a country,

closely covered with olives, till it reaches a village named Cardiga, situated on the banks of the Tagus. Here again the peasants were employed in collecting the produce of the olives.

At Cardiga is a handsome old convent, with a lofty round tower overhanging the road, and commanding the view of a most beautiful reach of the Tagus On crossing the little stream on which Cardiga stands, a charming landscape opened upon us. A small bridge and the round tower formed the foreground, in the distance were some richly cultivated hills, and in the middle, the white village of Barquinha, beautifully seated at the further extremity of the reach of the Tagus before-mentioned. Many white sails were flitting down the lucid stream, over whose reedy banks waved a tall grove of black poplars, and under their branches the road conducted us to Cardiga.

Barquinha is a very flourishing little village, which has arisen from the decay of the more ancient town of Tancos. Here we found a great degree of bustle and activity. The streets re-echoed the sounds of the boat-builders' mallets, and the hoarse bawls of the boatmen, who crowded the little barks on the shore, as they were taking in, for the supply of Lisbon, their cargoes of fire-wood.

Leaving Barquinha, the road winds along the Tagus, by the steep brow of a granite mountain; and about half a league further on, we came to this place (Tancos), where we shall pass the night.

LETTER XXIV.

JUIZ DE FORA AT TANCOS.—SITUATION OF THAT TOWN.—TORRE DE ALMOUROL.—FIGO DO INFERNO.—RIVER ZEZERA.—TOWN OF PUNHETE.—ROAD TO ABRANTES.

Abrantes, 5th Nov. 1808.

We arrived here yesterday forenoon. At Tancos D*** and I were billeted on the Juiz de Fora. His family exhibited an example of the old Portuguese character, as it existed two centuries ago.

We sat down to dinner with Signor B*** and two of his sons, who were both (as appeared from their bare crowns) in holy orders. His wife and daughters were in an adjoining room; but did not make their appearance. Signor B*** and his sons were hospitable, but rather grave and sententious, much inclined to reason and talk politics; which last I wished always to decline, as the discussion of the convention of Cintra is rather a thorny subject.

Tancos lies upon a projecting point of land, at the foot

of a steep mountain, close to the Tagus. It has suffered very considerably from the inundations of that river. Immediately opposite to Tancos, the river Culebra unites its stream, and, after heavy rains, rushes on the buildings of Tancos with so much impetuosity, as to have swept down many of the houses, now lying in ruins. From this cause, several of the inhabitants have removed lower down to Barquinha, and have carried the spirit of commerce thither along with them.

About a quarter of a mile above the town, in the midst of the Tagus, stands a granite rock, crowned with the ruins of an old Moorish castle, named *Torre de Almourol*. These ruins are extremely picturesque, and form a beautiful object, as viewed from the hill above Tancos. I took the opportunity of a little fishing-boat, the poor owner of which hailed me as I walked along the shore, and offered to land me on the island. I found it planted with poplars, and the ruins overgrown with Indian fig. When covered with its yellow flowers, this plant forms a beautiful hedge. It bears a small fruit, which is rather of a pleasant taste.

The ladies at Lisbon used to offer this fruit to our young officers. If they lifted it hastily, their fingers were severely wounded by an infinite number of minute invisible prickles, which it is hardly possible to extricate. The

poor Englishman roars out, the young ladies laugh; but our countrymen damn the joke. This fruit is called by the Portuguese *Figo do inferno*, and it well deserves its name.

Leaving Tancos, we proceeded over an extensive heath, till we reached the steep banks of the Zezera river, which are finely covered with olive plantations. Having crossed the river on a bridge of boats, we entered the town of Punhete.

Punhete is favourably seated on a point of land, formed by the junction of the Zezera and Tagus. On the extreme point stand the ruins of an old castle, close under which is the port of Punhete, which, when we passed, was thronged with boats, taking in cargoes of quinces, apples, and chesnuts, for the market of Lisbon.

From a projecting rock a little up the river I had a charming view of this spot. A large mountain, clothed with olives, formed an excellent back-ground to the landscape, of which I now inclose you a sketch.

In the war of 1762, the Portuguese army, under the Count de Lippe, were encamped at Punhete, previously to the affair of Villa Velha. While here, an accident happened, which, had it become known to the Spanish General, he

Drawn by Adam Neale, M.D.

Heath, sculp.

CASTLE OF PUNHETE,

on the Banks of the Tagus.

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might have taken the Count and the whole Portuguese army, without firing a musket. In consequence of a violent fall of rain, the bridge of boats over the river Zezera was swept away, so that the Count de Lippe found himself, for several days, inclosed with his whole army in this nook of land, between the Tagus and Zezera. Indeed, as all the rivers in this country arise in steep mountains, they appear as shallow brooks in summer, but in winter are very deep and dangerous torrents.

From Punhete to Abrantes is a distance of two leagues. By the sides of the road are groves of olives, and we now, for the first time, met with abundance of chesnut trees. Before reaching Abrantes we passed several low hills, composed of rounded alluvial stones, above which rise some higher hills, composed of granitic schistus, on the very summit of which stand the white towers of Abrantes.

LETTER XXV.

EFFECTS OF THE WET WEATHER ON THE TROOPS.—FINE SITUATION OF ABRANTES.—DELIGHTFUL VIEW FROM THE OLD CASTLE.—CULTURE OF THE OLIVE TREE.—BAD CONSTRUCTION OF THE WINDOWS IN PORTUGAL.

Abrantes, 6th November, 1808.

We have had very heavy rains for these two last days, and from the appearance of the clouds and atmosphere, we shall not, I fear, have much dry weather for some time to come.

Hitherto our march has been pleasant; but the roads on quitting this place are, I understand, extremely bad, and the country quite exhausted. Many of the troops begin already to feel the effects of fatigue, and are dropping sick at every stage.

This is the spot from whence Junot took his title of duke. It is delightfully situated on the high top of a

sloping hill, covered with orchards of olives. At the bottom winds the Tagus, which is navigable for small craft from hence to Lisbon; a distance, by water, of about ninety miles, eighty-two or three by land. From the top of an old castle here, you have a beautiful and very rich prospect over a great extent of country. Immense forests of pines, chesnuts, olives, and poplars, interspersed with green lawns, sandy cliffs, and glittering hamlets, constitute a scene which is highly picturesque.

It was from this city that, in the year 1385, Don John, Grand Master of Avis, afterwards King of Portugal, led his army to offer battle at Aljubarota to John I. king of Castile.

> The valiant John, begirt with warlike state,
> Now leads his bands from fair Abrantes' gate;
> Whose lawns of green the infant Tagus laves
> As from his spring he rolls his cooly waves.
>
> MICKLE'S LUSIAD, Book IV.

The country which we have passed since we left Santarem is extremely productive in oil. The vine and the olive, indeed, constitute the chief agricultural riches of Portugal. The Portuguese olives are said to be smaller than those of Spain, but to produce an oil of better quality.

The olive-tree is propagated by two modes, either by

cuttings or sets, or by being engrafted on the wild olive, which is common here, and called *azumbujeira*. The tree produced by the former method, will yield fruit, I am told, at the expiration of the seventh year; that produced by the latter requires not less than fourteen years, but the trunks of these are much more durable. You may hence judge of the great value of a plantation of olive trees. I am sorry to tell you that, owing to the ignorance of our army, on first entering Portugal, many olive plantations were sadly injured by our men, who taking them for a species of black willow, cut them down to boil their kettles, and build camp huts. By the time we reached Torres Vedras, the value and nature of the tree being discovered, general orders were issued to prevent a repetition of this trespass.

The olives, when ripe, become of a dark brown colour; after being plucked they are, in Portugal, generally laid in heaps, with a quantity of salt interposed, and suffered to ferment; which process, while it increases the quantity, considerably injures the quality of the oil which is produced. The oil press is worked by oxen, and no great care being taken to keep the press or vessels clean, the oil is apt to become rancid.

In this country the pickled olives produced at table are

very bad, having been suffered to get ripe before they are plucked. In Spain and Italy the olives are gathered while green, and put for some days into a strong alkaline lye, to remove their bitter taste, after which they are laid into a salt brine.

The olive-tree wood is of a yellow colour, and of a beautiful close grain. Owing to a bitter oil which it contains, it is indestructible by worms, and might therefore be employed with the greatest advantage for coach-building, but especially for pannels to paint on. Owing to the number of fine woods which are brought over from Brazil, it is used here only for fuel.

7th November.

I shall seize an opportunity which has just occurred of sending a packet to Lisbon. This day the rain comes down in torrents, and I must march three leagues before night, to a place called Gavaon, from whence we go to-morrow to Nissa. Wet weather in this country is particularly unpleasant, from the want of glass in the windows; you must, therefore, either permit the rain to beat into the room where you sit, or close the folding doors of the windows, which are intended to serve for shutters, leaving open a small wicket about eight inches square, to admit a few rays of light. In some rooms you find a trellis-frame

or *jalousies*, which answers the purpose rather better, admitting more light, while it excludes the moisture.

I observe many officers have brought their wives along with them; what a situation for women!—I have been interrupted by an officer just arrived from Lisbon, who has brought me several letters and newspapers. Most of the former are, I observe, in your hand-writing.

Our escort of dragoons are now passing the window, and I must therefore postpone what I had to say till I reach Nissa. Adieu.

LETTER XXVI.

SET OFF FOR GAVAON.—CROSS THE TAGUS.—APPEARANCE OF ABRANTES FROM THE OPPOSITE ALENLEGO SIDE.—HOSPITALITY OF DONNA HELENA.—A STORMY NIGHT AMIDST THE MOUNTAINS.—A GOATHERD'S HOVEL IN THE VILLAGE OF MARIE-COVA.—GAVAON.—NISSA.—DOCTOR ASSISSI.

Nissa, 8th November, 1808.

D * * * and I waited till nearly three o'clock yesterday, in expectation that the weather might clear up. It did so for a short time; but we had scarcely got clear of the town before the rain fell again in torrents.

On descending the hill of Abrantes we reached the Tagus, which we crossed in a little bark. Here we found some craft arrived from Lisbon, with stores of different descriptions; but more than two-thirds of the boats employed had been left aground below Santarem, and the water is at present so shallow, that it will be necessary to

remove the cargoes into smaller boats, before they can be brought up to Abrantes.

Quitting the banks of the Tagus, the road turns suddenly round to the left, and leads through pine woods and heaths. Now and then we had a fine view of the town and convents of Abrantes, whose castle, mingling with the drifting dark clouds, frowned majestic over the scene. During the early part of our ride yesterday, we passed through some forests of magnificent cork-trees. The valleys are covered with the strawberry-tree *(arbutus unedo)*, the aromatic cistus *(cistus ladaniferus)*, great quantities of myrtles, honeysuckles, and wood-roses. You may easily conceive how beautiful and fragrant these little dales are, where Flora has been so prodigal of her gifts.

Arriving at the skirts of a small village named Santa Luzia, we were saluted, on passing a handsome house, by a Portuguese clergyman, who, in French, requested us to alight and accept some refreshment. It being my wish to make myself acquainted with the state of society in this country, I accepted the invitation, and gave my horse to a servant at the door, who put him under cover from the rain. On entering, I was introduced by this gentleman to the lady of the house, who was seated at an embroidering frame. A variety of sweetmeats were now presented, to-

gether with a flask of excellent wine. Some conversation ensued on the state of affairs in Lisbon, and the happy prospects now existing in Spain.

I ought to tell you, that my friend D * * *, anxious to be at the end of his journey, had galloped on without waiting for me, and, as night was fast approaching, I was impatient to be off. Donna Helena and her confessor offered me a bed, and solicited me to postpone my journey to Gavaon till morning, enforcing their request by observing that the roads were extremely bad, and that it would be quite dark before I could get to the end of my ride. However I was determined to proceed, and taking leave of this hospitable mansion, I sallied out, wrapping myself in a brace of great coats, which were by this time thoroughly soaked with the rain.

Passing through a village called Casa Branca, I came to the foot of a steep mountain, over which my horse scrambled by a wretched sort of road. By the time I had reached the bottom, night was coming on fast. Meeting there with a convoy of muleteers, I made some inquiries, and they told me I was within a league of my journey's end.

It was now become almost dark, and having entered a wood of cork-trees, directly across the path lay a huge

branch of one of them, which adding to the darkness, made me turn into another path, which led off to the right. This conducted me to an extensive heath, on the top of a hill. Along this waste I pursued the track for several miles.

It was now pitch dark, and very heavy clouds shrouded the face of Heaven. Through their breaks I could, at intervals, perceive the evening star. Along the horizon streamed a lingering gleam of twilight.

Presently the thunder began to murmur through the valleys. I clapped spurs to my horse, who, frightened at the vivid gleams of lightning, darted quickly along. On pulling up, I found I had lost the track. The clouds now burst and discharged their contents. I was drenched to the skin, and my horse completely knocked up. I dismounted and groped along, fearful of tumbling over the rocky precipices.

After several hours, I with difficulty found a track, and searching with my fingers in the clay, I felt the impressions of horses' hoofs. I was beginning to make up my mind to creep under the shelter of the first rock I met with, when I discovered at a distance a ray of light, proceeding, as I thought, from a cottage window. Leading my horse by the bridle, I descended into a valley, and after many stumbles

reached a rivulet. I could see nothing; but the noise it made in rushing amidst the rocks, warned me of my danger. I proceeded cautiously towards the light, which I now perceived came from a village on my right.

On reaching the hamlet, I knocked at the first door I came to, through the chinks of which I perceived the light of a fire. No answer was returned; and on repeating my summons, and requesting, in my best Portuguese, that they would open the door, and show me the way to Gavaon, I was answered by a female voice, informing me that I was a league and a half from Gavaon, that her husband and son were both from home, and that she could not open the door. On applying my eye to one of the chinks before-mentioned, I discovered a stout young peasant standing in the middle of the hut, apparently trembling with fear and apprehension, while an old woman near him applied her finger to her lips, in token of silence.

I once more thundered at the door, and repeated my request, stating at the same time, that I had seen the young man, and intreated they would open the door; but my solicitations were in vain, and after three or four more fruitless attempts at different houses, I was obliged to lead back my poor horse by the rocky path which had brought us to the village

My next attempt was to ford the rivulet, as I thought, from the idea I had of the country, that Gavaon must lie in that direction. Stumbling in the dark among the rocks, I slipped into a deep pool, from which, however, I soon rescued myself; and more fearful of injuring my horse than drowning myself, I was on the point of returning by the path which led to the top of the mountain, when I heard the grateful sound of distant voices.

A body of peasants soon drew near, and requested me to return to the inhospitable village I had so lately left. Their invitation I gladly accepted, and my horse was put under shelter, and some straw of Indian corn placed before him: while a young peasant brought the poor animal some water, in a vessel formed from the bark of a cork-tree. I was myself conducted to one of the huts, where I found a blazing fire, which soon dried my wet clothes. An onion, a few grapes, some wine, and bread of Indian corn were now offered me by the owners of the dwelling. They placed a large piece of cork on the ground, on which they spread a mattrass, and putting a log of wood on the fire, they gave their *adios* and left me.

The blue lightning gleamed through the slates which loosely covered the roof; the large drops of rain hissed as they pattered on the glowing embers, the huge

cork-trees groaned beneath the howling storm; while I, grateful to that Providence which had placed me under the goat-herd's roof, sunk to repose.

At day-light, the poor goat-herd of Marie Cova conducted me to the top of an adjoining mountain, and pointed out the track which leads to Gavaon. I dropped some silver into his hand, returned him my warmest thanks for his invaluable attention, and mounting my horse, soon joined my friend Doctor D*** who was beginning to feel a good deal alarmed at my absence.

Gavaon is a village, consisting of a few mean houses placed on the top of a high hill, about four leagues' distance from Niza. The intervening country is chiefly a heath, and the granite beneath is so scantily covered with soil, that the huge grey blocks stare through it in all directions. The granitic soil appears particularly favourable to the oak, which is now the prevailing tree, and is scattered around Niza in the clefts of every rock.

The square tower of an old castle in ruins was the first object which warned us of our approachto Niza, which appears, from the remains of an old wall, to have been formerly a place of some note. Here we are quartered in the house of a handsome young man, a doctor of laws. His name

is rather remarkable, being no other than Francisco Assissi. He was educated, he told us, at the university of Coimbra, where he had received his title, and had been (previously to the invasion of Portugal by the French) Juez de Fora of a small town in his native province, Beira.

Dr. Assissi seems to be a man of excessive sensibility, joined to a disposition naturally retired. The excesses which the French troops committed in Beira were such, as to induce him to relinquish his official situation, and take refuge in Niza, a place, which, from its poverty and insignificance, was seldom troubled by visits from the French. However, the scenes he had witnessed in Beira, were such as to have left a lasting impression on a mind so constituted, and poor Francisco Assissi is now become one of the greatest hypochondriacs I have ever contemplated. He is a married man, the father of three fine boys, who are now amusing themselves in the court-yard, but his wife has not appeared.

LETTER XXVII.

ROMANTIC BRIDGE ON THE RIO NISSA.—SOLITARY CHAPEL ON THE SERRA DE ST. MIGUEL.—CROSS THE TAGUS AT THE PASS OF VILLA VELHA.—GALLANT ACTION PERFORMED HERE IN 1762.

Villa Velha, 9th Nov. 1808.

We left Niza (or Nissa) this morning, and rode for a couple of miles along a sandy heath, till we reached some beautiful green hills, covered with myrtles and cistus. The road meandered along their sides, till coming on a sudden to the verge of a descent, we were delighted with a most charming landscape.

Beneath flowed the winding stream of the Rio de Niza, over which was a rustic bridge of four square piers; beyond the bridge, the road wound along the opposite side of a very steep mountain, and conducted the troops, which were passing at the time, close to the white walls of an old chapel, which, with a few cork-trees, stood amid

the lonely crags of the mountain, from whose dark sides, here and there, glittered a silvery thread-like stream. The chapel is dedicated to the genius of the place, and, as well as the adjoining ridge (Serra de St. Miguel), bears his hallowed name.

I took out my pencil and sketched this romantic scene, and you will receive it inclosed in this letter.

Over the Serra de St. Miguel the road is extremely bad. The wains employed in conveying our ammunition were broken down in all directions. A serjeant of the royal artillery, with a party of men, had been left to bring them on, but had found great difficulty in procuring oxen and waggons. We passed some of these men sitting by the fragments, who said they had lain out three nights in the rain, amid these dreary mountains.

Passing the solitary chapel of St. Miguel, we reached a spot, whence we had a sublime view over the adjacent mountains. The sun was declining in the west, and threw dark purplish shadows over the Alpine precipices. We witnessed here a very singular appearance. Excepting one prodigious lofty ridge, the contour and lines of which were square and perpendicular, all the surrounding hills presented a gentle undulating appearance. This ridge, as I

Drawn by Adam Neale, M.D. *Heath, sculp.*

BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER NISSA,

amid the Mountains of the Sierra de St. Miguel.

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have since discovered, is a continuation of the Serra, which is primitive, and composed of a reddish marble; the others are all secondary, being schistus, formed from decayed granite.

We soon after arrived at the celebrated pass of Villa Velha, to which we were led by a rapid descent. The Tagus here rushes through a chasm, formed in the Serra de St. Miguel, which seems rent asunder to form a passage to the eddying flood of the majestic River-god. On a rock overhanging the pass, stands a ruined square tower, the only remains of the castle of Villa Velha.

The sun sunk splendidly behind the rifted rocks as D*** and I stept into the large flat-bottomed boat, which wafted us over the river, and in a few minutes we reached this ruined city.

Villa Velha (the ancient city) now consists of a few miserable hovels. It stands beneath the brow of an impending mountain, which attracting the passing clouds, keeps it in an eternal drizzle.

Dumoriez, whose ingenious work on Portugal I have now with me, gives an interesting account of a gallant ex-

ploit, performed here by a Scotch officer named Hamilton, in the war of 1762. He states, that on the removal of the old Marquis de Sarria, the Count d'Aranda was substituted to command the Spanish army. But I had better give it you in the General's own words.

" This new General made an attack upon Villa Velha, on the banks of the Tagus. Nevertheless, the Portuguese, encouraged by the indecision of the Spaniards, strengthened by the support of the English, and animated by the Count de Lippe, ventured to take the field, and encamped to the number of twelve thousand men at Abrantes and Punhete ; while a small camp of Portuguese volunteers, commanded by a brave Scotchman, of the name of Hamilton, and reinforced by two English battalions, and some companies of grenadiers, were posted upon the left bank of the Tagus, opposite Villa Velha, whose castle was garrisoned by three hundred Portuguese. Alvarez (a Spanish officer) had taken this castle without much danger, as it surrendered at the first musket shot. During the march to Villa Velha, the Count de Lippe had sent Colonel Burgoyne with his English dragoons and six companies of grenadiers, four of which were Portuguese, to attack Valença de Alcantara, of which that officer got possession without any resistance, and afterwards pillaged it. Valença is surrounded with walls, and con-

Drawn by Adam Neale, M.D. *Heath, sculp.*

THE PASS OF VILLA VELHA,
on the Tagus.

Published June 15, 1809, by Richard Phillips, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London.

tained a garrison of twelve hundred militia, under the command of a brigadier-general. This affront however was soon forgotten by the Spaniards. The capture of Villa Velha had increased the confidence of the detachment of Alvarez, who despising the enemy, abandoned themselves to a fallacious security. Hamilton perceived their negligence, passed a ford of the river by night with three hundred men, half of them English, surprised the camp of Alvarez, consisting of two thousand men, the flower of the Spanish army, spiked their cannon, and repassed the Tagus without loss, leaving behind him no common scene of disorder and confusion."

The scene of this enterprize I have sketched, and shall send it to you in my next letter. Mean time adieu.

LETTER XXVIII.

A FORD NEAR VILLA VELHA.—STATE OF THE ROAD TO ASCARNADAS.—CASTEL BRANCO.—THIRTY-SECOND REGIMENT.—PORTUGUESE ARMY.

Castel Branco, 11th November, 1808.

At Villa Velha we were quartered on the acting Juez de Fora, a poor man, who complained how much he had been plundered by the French army. Near that town we crossed a small sandy plain, well covered with ever-green oak trees. On fording a rivulet which divides it, we found a poor devil, dripping wet, perched on an island of sand, in the midst of the stream. He was, he told us, a Gallician, the servant of an English officer. In attempting to cross the ford, the stream being much swollen with the rains, he had mistaken the shallow, and stepping into a large hole, had been swept down by the current. In struggling for his life the unfortunate man had dropt his knapsack, containing his little all. I rescued him from the awkward situation

in which he was, and passed on to the head of the valley.

Here the road led by a narrow steep defile to the top of the mountain. The wrecks of oxen-wains, broken wheels, and disabled carriages, marked the progress of our army. The whole of the road, indeed, to As Carnadas, is the very worst, perhaps, in Europe. The rock over which it lies, is a granitic schistus, with veins of quartz, the stratums of which are nearly perpendicular to the horizon, and the wheels of the carriages had cut it down, in most places, in ruts at least three or four feet deep. It is surprising how any animals could have dragged the carriages along.

We slept at As Carnadas, which is a wretched collection of most miserable hovels, placed on the summit of a bare rock. From thence to Castel Branco, a distance of three leagues, the road is nearly as bad as that from Villa Velha.

At Castel Branco we found the first battalion of the thirty-second regiment, who are ordered to remain here to bring forward the ammunition, which, as I mentioned to you in my last, is lying on the mountains of the Serra de St. Miguel.

We are billeted at the house of a very worthy man, a

Major in the Castel Branco regiment of cavalry, who treats us with the greatest hospitality. He has just shewn us some late Madrid newspapers, which speak in very flattering terms of the successes of their troops; but I cannot help remarking, that the news which they contain appear to be mutilated, and many circumstances glossed over.

The greatest part of the columns of the papers are occupied by minute details of donations for the use of the patriotic army, which are in themselves so insignificant, and even paltry, that they prove either that the people in Spain are already impoverished to an excessive degree, or that they possess little of that glow of public spirit and patriotism, for which we in England are inclined to give them so much credit. For example, what do you think of a Count giving one mule, a Countess a mare and two pack-saddles, a Marquis three bridles and a hunting-saddle, and other items equally humble, with the full titles and designations of the donors prefixed. Such, however, are the proofs of public spirit given at Madrid.

Our landlord seems a well-informed man, and talks with much feeling and judgment on the state of his own country. He reprobates, in strong terms, that misguided policy, according to which the Portuguese nobility have been prevented from entering into the army.

"The bad effects of this error," he proceeds, "are now detected, but I fear it may be already too late. Orders, it is true, have been issued to augment the military force of Portugal to forty thousand men, and recruiting is going on here with some degree of activity; but you well know that the army of this country has long been among the most contemptible in Europe; and more lately, the indolence and ignorance of our ministry have completely dissolved what little remained of any thing like a military system."

For fifty years, previous to the year 1762, Portugal was in the enjoyment of peace. On the breaking out of that war, the Count de Lippe was invited from Germany to superintend the organization of the Portuguese army. Peace with Spain was concluded, and in a few years after, the Portuguese army was suffered to relapse nearly into the same deplorable state in which the Count de Lippe had found it.

Dumouriez gives the Portuguese soldier an excellent character. According to that writer, he is obedient, patient, robust, lively, and dextrous; but he is at the same time idle, filthy, and disposed to find fault with every thing, although capable, when properly attended to, of doing credit to his character.

In Portugal indeed, I believe, as every where else, good officers are the grand requisites to produce a good army; mankind in the mass are brave, and if properly led on, will perform whatever may be necessary in warfare; but military ardour, when once suffered to become extinct in any nation, is with great difficulty rekindled; and I am much mistaken if the subsequent history of Portugal do not prove the truth of this position.

LETTER XXIX.

BAD WEATHER.—ARRIVAL OF THE FIFTIETH.—SITUATION OF CASTEL BRANCO.—A VENERABLE PRELATE.—FAMILIARITY OF SERVANTS IN PORTUGAL.—TUTELAR SAINTS OF CASTEL BRANCO.

Castel Branco, 12th November, 1808.

THE weather still continues extremely wet, and harasses the troops, who are now on their march. This morning the fiftieth regiment marched in here. We have a very unpleasant thickness in the atmosphere, which, added to the rain, is extremely depressing, and makes me most unwilling to quit the *brasero*, a wretched substitute indeed for the comforts of a fire-side; but such as it is, D * * * and I are very glad to warm our fingers at it.

The situation of this town is lofty. The buildings are placed along the side of a granitic hill, between two streams, the Liria, and the Poncul; it is encircled by a double wall, with four gates, and flanked with seven towers.

There is likewise an old castle, which was once formidable. It contains four thousand inhabitants. The streets are narrow and filthy. Adjoining to the town, on the north side, are some extensive olive plantations. But, upon the whole, the town is far from interesting in any way. We see it indeed under every disadvantage, owing to the state of the weather.

As I have, in my former letters, given you rather an unfavourable character of some of the clergy of this country, I ought, in justice, to acquaint you that the Bishop of Guarda, who resides here, is, by all the accounts which have reached me, one of the most amiable of human beings. He distributes more than one-half of his income, which, unfortunately, is not large, among the needy and indigent, who never make an appeal to him in vain. He is of course, as you may conceive, held in the highest veneration by all his fellow-citizens, and indeed almost adored by the poor. I have not had the honour of being introduced to this most worthy old man.

All travellers mention the great degree of familiarity with which servants treat their masters in this country. There is a remarkable instance of this in the house where I am at present. An old butler, who waits on us at dinner, is perpetually interrupting his master in the course of con-

versation, in a manner so extraordinary, that D * * * and I can with great difficulty refrain from laughing. If, in answer to our inquiries, the worthy Major happens to state any thing which is not exactly accordant with the butler's ideas, he cries out—" O, no, Sir, you are much mistaken, you forget that so and so is the case." The good Major, instead of appearing annoyed, or desiring him to be silent, hears with great patience all he has to say, and then vindicates himself; this produces an animated rejoinder from the butler, followed by a long argumentation between them, in which they generally manage to lose sight of the original question.

I do not think that the priests here make so many processions as in the other towns in Portugal, though, perhaps, it is only the wet weather which keeps them within doors.

The tutelar saints of Castel Branco hold rather a dangerous post. They are, according to Brydone, as liable to be turned out of place as the Lords of the Treasury are at home. In his Tour through Sicily and Malta, that author says—" That the people of Castel Branco were so enraged at St. Antonio, for allowing the Spaniards to plunder their town, contrary, as they affirmed, to his express agreement with them, that they broke many of his

statues to pieces; and one that had been more revered than the rest, they took the head off, and clapped on one of St. Francis in its place; whose name the statue ever afterwards retained. I have not heard who is at present at the head of the sainthood here. I know it cannot be St. Dennis.

I forgot to tell you that this town is well supplied with excellent game of all descriptions—hares, red-legged partridges, quails, &c. are both plentiful and cheap.

LETTER XXX.

VILLAGE OF ATALAYA.—JEWS IN PORTUGAL.—AN ACCIDENT.—VAL DE PRAZERAS.—A NEW SUBJECT FOR AN ARTIST.—SINGULAR NEGOTIATION.

Campinha, 14th November, 1808.

We left Castel Branco yesterday morning, and after a wet ride of four leagues, reached Atalaya, a small povoa or village, where we slept. Notwithstanding the external appearance of the houses, we were very comfortably lodged, and had the luxury of a good brasero to dry our clothes.

Our landlord, who appeared to be an intelligent man, entered into discourse respecting the state of public affairs. In the course of his conversation, he was very liberal in abusing a description of men, whom he called the new Christians, which, he told us, was the name by which the Jews in Portugal are now known. All these people here,

as you perhaps know, have apparently conformed to the tenets of the Catholic church, but are, it is suspected, as rank Israelites in their hearts as ever. Some travellers have stated, that wherever, in Portugal, you observe a house more than usually adorned with crucifixes and holy pictures, you may safely conclude that the owner follows the precepts of the Mosaic law.

Our landlord informed us that Castel Branco abounds with these new Christians, who, during the tyranny of the French, were their agents in carrying on a system of *espionage* on their fellow citizens; and were extremely useful to the French commissaries, in procuring them provisions, forage, and supplies of all kinds for their army.

One of these Jews, now in Castel Branco, is lately returned from Madrid, where he had been taken up on the expulsion of King Joseph. Another Jew bailed him for a considerable sum, and has since been executed, in consequence of the flight of the Jew of Castel Branco. This is the circumstance as I heard it, but I cannot vouch for its truth.

My friend D*** has suffered much inconvenience from the breaking down of a small cart, on which he had transported his baggage from Lisbon, as far as Atalaya. By

the time we reached Castel Branco, the mule which dragged it along was much fatigued, and had become sadly excoriated on the shoulder, from the pressure of the collar. I therefore lent him one of my horses, to assist in bringing on the cart. The horse was put in harness in front, and the two animals set off together in the greatest possible harmony.

We were just mounting our horses and setting off, very well pleased with the arrangement, when the poor Gallego who drove the cart returned, tearing his hair, and making a most dismal noise, exclaiming he was ruined. I was at first afraid that my horse, a Spanish stallion, had kicked and broken some of his bones; but on riding immediately forward to the place, I found that, on going up a small hill, the horse had become restive, and backed upon the mule, which had overturned the cart into a deep hollow by the side of the road. Fortunately neither of the animals were at all injured, and of the cart, only one shaft was broken. However, on enquiring for a carpenter, we learnt, to our extreme mortification, that it would be necessary to send either to Alpedrinha, or a village named Val de Prazeras, a distance of four miles, as no mechanic lived in Atalaya. After some deliberation, we determined to take the fractured machine to the latter village, as it lay more directly in our road; and having, by the assistance of the

Juez, procured a bullock-cart, we fastened the broken vehicle to it, and set off.

Between Atalaya and Val de Prazeras, we had a charming view of the romantic little village of Alpedrinha, placed about half-way up the side of a mountain, and embodied amidst a large forest of oaks, now glowing in all the fading tints of autumn. Having galloped on to Val de Prazeras, I learnt that the only carpenter in the village was gone to Fundaon, a market town, about two leagues over the mountains.

At length, after many enquiries, I found that there was still another carpenter, who, in the wane of life, lived retired in the village. Him I now looked for, and with much difficulty prevailed on him to assist my friend in his dilemma. I then rode back to D * * *, where we impatiently waited for the arrival of the old carpenter, who soon after made his appearance. An ass, led by a little boy, carried the old man, who was lame in one of his feet. Before the ass marched a little ragged elf, playing on an oaten reed, and around were a troop of children from the village, each bearing a mallet, a saw, or a hatchet, while one of the urchins, with a thick rope's end, urged the poor donkey to move on. I could not help laughing most heartily at this extraordinary cavalcade, which, I believe,

even excited a faint smile from my poor friend D***, as I reminded him of one of Jordaen's pictures of the triumph of Silenus.

After examining the cart very attentively, the old man informed us, that it would require a new shaft, and at least three hours to finish the job; and we were now obliged to bring it up to the village. Here we were conducted to the principal house, over the door of which was carved in stone the armorial bearings of the proprietress, an old lady, who begged us to walk in. Some fruit and refreshments were presented to us, of which we partook.

The lady of the mansion, we soon after discovered, claimed the rank of Countess; and we were not a little surprized to find, from our servants, that she had been tampering with the workmen, who declared that it would take at least twelve hours to repair the damage the cart had sustained. Upon this declaration being made, the Countess expressed a wish to purchase the concern, as the beauty of the two English chaise-wheels had particularly struck her fancy. After some *pro's* and *con's*, it was at length agreed between D*** and her Ladyship, that the cart should be her property for twelve dollars.

Having procured an ass and a mule to carry the baggage,

we were preparing to set off, when two *padres*, or priests, with the Donna's two daughters, arrived. To them she announced the bargain she had just concluded. The priests, on examining the vehicle, gave so unfavourable a report, that the Countess declared her determination to rescind her agreement. We now ordered out the unfortunate machine, and were preparing to make a bonfire of it before the old lady's door, when she begged to renew the negotiation, upon the basis of the *status quo*. The definitive treaty was soon concluded; she handed over the crusadoes to my friend D***, who pocketing them, made her a low bow, and mounting his horse, galloped out of sight before the Countess had an opportunity of wavering any more on the subject. I then paid my compliments, and taking rather a more tardy leave of her Ladyship, soon joined my friend, and enjoyed a hearty laugh at the expence of the antiquated Countess, whose avarice had been so manifest.

LETTER XXXI.

VILLAGE OF CAMPINHA.—ROAD TO GUARDA.—SERRA DE ESTRELLA.—CASTANHEIRA.—BELMONTE.—DELIGHTFUL VALLEY.—GUARDA.

Guarda, 15th November, 1808.

We arrived in this town last night. Soon after breakfast yesterday morning, we left the village of Campinha, situated in a small *cul de sac*, amid lofty granitic mountains, on which are spread some natural woods of oak. The morning was fine, and as the sun dispersed the mists of the valleys, they hung in mid-air beneath the surrounding precipices.

You must often have observed this beautiful effect in the romantic environs of your native village, about the commencement of autumn, when the clouds, streaming along the vales, are attracted by the woody thickets, and, like the web of a gigantic gossamer, seem to cling to the boughs of the weeping birch, and red-berried mountain

ash. Such was the aspect under which we viewed the sequestered village of Campinha.

In the course of two miles we arrived near the banks of a mountain torrent, foaming amid mossy rocks. This stream, judging by my map, I suppose to be a branch of the Rio Sizera; but I must caution you that Jeffries appears to be inaccurate in this part of Portugal. Leaving this river to the left, we ascended and descended several times, till we arrived in a fine mountain plain, bounded on the left by a lofty range, over which towered the snow-clad summit of the Serra d'Estrella, the highest mountain in Portugal.

The road from Campinha was excellent, composed of firm granitic sand, amid which we often found large masses of talc. The country was covered with short herbage; and on approaching Castanheira, we entered groves of fine chesnuts. This village (Castanheira), is finely placed on a knoll in the centre of the plain, betwixt two branches of the river Sizera, over which there are two bridges. After resting a few minutes here, we passed along the valley to a hamlet called Belmonte, the old castle of which we had descried at a great distance.

Belmonte is situated, as its name indicates, on a beautiful little eminence. Like the generality of villages here-

about, it was in ancient times a strong hold.* Around the village are some noble groves of majestic chesnuts, of which the female peasants were busied in collecting the fruit.

At Belmonte we put up our horses for an hour at the house of the Juez de Fora, and after partaking of some bread and cheese, and a few roasted chesnuts, proceeded on our journey. About a mile from Belmonte we reached the picturesque banks of a small stream, whose course the road followed, leading us to the most beautiful valley your fancy can well picture. Fine oaks and chesnuts clothed both sides of the river, up to the very summit. Now and then an ancient church, with a cemetery, and a gray stone crucifix, covered with moss or ivy, gave an interest to the scene. The little hamlets hanging on the rocks, scattered forth wreaths of blue smoke over the dark brown woods.

From amidst the lofty Spanish broom, and "blossomed furze unprofitably gay," skipped the nimble herds of

* This country, indeed, abounds with such ruins. Idanha Nova, Idanha Velha, Pennamacor, &c. are all ancient hill forts, surrounded by villages. The inhabitants formerly carried on a perpetual warfare with Spain, from which country they were in their turn subjected to predatory incursions. Such was the state of the debateable land near the Tweed, before the union between England and Scotland.

mountain goats; while the eye, wandering in delight over this exquisite scene, was often attracted by the last rays of the sun, setting behind the remote summit of the lofty Serra, or by the slow-sailing flight of a vulture or eagle. At the cottage doors of this happy valley, we often saw instances of female beauty, approaching to the finest ideal forms of Greece. We were, in short, in a sort of trance, from which we waked and perceived ourselves in the state of the travellers mentioned by Virgil.

> Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
> Est iter in silvis, ubi cœlum condidit umbra
> Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.
>
> ÆNEID, Lib. VI.

Crossing and recrossing the river, and winding under the steep cliffs of the valley, the stream diminishing progressively to a rivulet, torrent, and brook, we reached its source, and soon after the summit of the mountain. It was now so dark that we lost our road, and were wandering about the granite cliffs, when the tolling of the convent bells pointed out the direction of Guarda, at which we arrived at ten o'clock P. M.

LETTER XXXII.

GUARDA—ITS DREARY CLIMATE DURING WINTER—LOFTY SITUATION.—FOUNDED BY SANCHO I.—OPINIONS OF DUMOURIEZ AND LORD GALWAY RESPECTING THE DEFENCE OF PORTUGAL.—CHARACTER OF LOISSON.—ATROCITIES PERPETRATED BY THE FRENCH AT ALPEDRINHA.—ANECDOTE OF THE INQUISITION.

Almeida, 18th November, 1808.

HERE we are at the frontier garrison-town of Portugal. Before we quitted Guarda last night, the fiftieth regiment arrived. It rained incessantly during the two days we were there, and the atmosphere was so foggy, that we could scarcely see from one side of the street to the other, except one evening, for about ten minutes, as the sun went down; I therefore saw very little of that espiscopal city. We were thankful to get away from it, as we were told that, for nearly five, if not six months in the year, the sun never shines on it. Luckily for the Bishop, there is no act compelling him to reside there.

Guarda stands near the source of the Mondego, upon one of the mountains of the Serra da Estrella, and in the summer months may be pleasant enough. It appears, however, to be decreasing in population, if I may be allowed to judge from the ruinous state of its houses. King Sancho the First, who founded it, in 1199, must have had an extraordinary taste. It is encompassed by turreted stone walls, and has an old castle, which overlooks an extensive plain, to which you descend by a steep road, paved with large blocks of granite. Dumouriez thinks that this plain would be an excellent camp for twenty thousand men, as it commands the adjacent country; and Lord Galway, in his Memoirs, says, that it is by far the best post that can be occupied by the Portuguese for the defence of Lisbon, when threatened by the Spaniards.

At Guarda we were lodged in the house of a beneficed clergyman, who was the principal agent there of that vile tribunal the Inquisition. The enemy had committed their usual excesses at Guarda. Most of the inhabitants, indeed, had fled upon the last visit of the French, which happened just before the landing of the British at Figuera: but the name of General Loisson inspires a degree of detestation and horror amongst all classes of Portuguese, far beyond what I could have conceived. That man, or monster, rather let me call him, seems to have as much

exceeded, in profligacy and wanton cruelty, every other French general, as Nero, Tiberius, and Robespierre have surpassed the rest of mankind. This wretch has lost an arm, and the Portuguese have given him the nick-name of *Maneta*.* One of his last acts of atrocity was the wanton murder of forty of the innocent inhabitants of that beautiful village, the appearance of which I described to you in my last letter. If any spot in the world seems, from its secluded situation, to promise repose and peace to its inhabitants, it is surely Alpedrinha. Yet, even there, the poor peasantry have been barbarously massacred by a rapacious French soldiery, and have left their surviving posterity to curse the bigotry and folly of a government, which has been wasting, in the erection of chapels to St. John the Baptist, and churches and convents to the heart of Jesus, that wealth and those resources which ought to have been applied in organizing a respectable military force, and preserving the dignity and security of its subjects.

While we were under the roof of the Inquisitor, he one day received a letter from his superiors in iniquity at Lis-

* While sending this letter to the press, I observe, by the newspapers of the day, that this wretched man has paid the debt of nature at Oporto, and is now departed to answer at the tribunal of his Creator for all his execrable actions.

bon, the contents of which he was pleased to communicate to us.

Previously to the seizure of Portugal by the French army, a young man, residing at Lisbon, the son of a merchant of Oporto, had become enamoured of the daughter of a powerful Portuguese nobleman. He soon made known the state of his affections to the young lady, who, overlooking the prejudices of birth, yielded a return to his passion, and found means to elude the vigilance of her friends, and give him her hand at the altar of a neighbouring chapel. The marriage was soon discovered. Mortified pride and indignation seized the hidalgo. The young man was banished by the ministry to Oporto; while the Inquisition, ever ready to engage in any measure of despotism and barbarity, immured the poor imprudent girl within the precincts of a convent.

The entry of Junot into Lisbon, however it might be regarded by the rest of the nation, was, by these two unfortunates, hailed as the æra of their liberty. The young man made a personal appeal to the feelings of Junot. It was not made in vain. "Young man," said Junot, "your wish is granted; your wife shall be restored to you." The gates of her prison were thrown open; and Junot, for once at least in his life, was instrumental to the

happiness of two fellow-creatures. The British conquered. The French retired. Again the prisons of the Inquisition yawned. Dread and horror seized the lady. She fled to the protecting arms of her only brother, who resides in the neighbourhood of Guarda. The fell Inquisition reclaims its prey ; and their agent at Guarda, unless he shall be disposed of by an apoplexy, or some other way equally effectual, will soon lay his clutches on this poor creature, and conduct her to the Inquisition.

From Guarda hither the road is over a bleak plain, interspersed with mean villages, and intersected with stone walls. Immense blocks of granite cover the face of the country, in all directions ; and oak-trees, their usual accompaniment, are not wanting. The white, or Spanish broom, grows here in abundance. We crossed one or two streams, and at length the Coa River, over which there is a singular, but rather handsome bridge, of three arches. Of this place I shall defer the description till I have more time. Adieu.

LETTER XXXIII.

ALMEIDA DESCRIBED.—CHANGE IN THE ART OF WAR.—UNPROMISING ASPECT OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.—THE SPANISH ARMIES EXIST BUT IN NAME.—THE JUNTAS—THEIR APATHY—THEY DELAY THE LANDING OF SIR DAVID BAIRD'S ARMY AT CORUNNA, UNDER FRIVOLOUS PRETENCES.—BRIGADIER-GENERAL ANSTRUTHER.—IGNORANCE OF THE INHABITANTS OF ALMEIDA OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

Almeida, 19th November, 1808.

This town stands on the top of a very high mountain, or, more properly perhaps, on a lofty mountain-plain, which is divided by an immense glen, containing in its sinuosities the rapid river Coa, which, rushing down amidst rifted granite rocks, and after being joined by three small rivers, adds its stream to the majestic Douro. Almeida is the principal place in the district of Pinhel; and Dumouriez thinks it "the strongest fortification in Portugal. It has six royal bastions of stone, and as many ravelins, that fronting the Coa, which runs at the distance of a mile, is of a noble extent, and furnished with a *cava-*

Drawn by Adam Neale, M.D.

Heath, sculp.

BRIDGE OVER THE COA RIVER,

near Almeida.

Published June 15, 1809, by Richard Phillips, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London.

lier, for the purpose of commanding the circumjacent country: there is a good ditch and covered way. Nearly in the centre of the town, on a lofty mound, stands a castle, famous for its strength and magazines, bomb-proof; within its walls are wells, and at a small distance a fine spring of water. The number of souls in the town two thousand five hundred."

I have given you this description just as it stands in Dumouriez's work, although you may, perhaps, know as little of ravelines and bomb-proofs as the Widow Wadman did at the time of her first interview with my uncle Toby. Fortified places are now, indeed, a far less interesting study than they were in those days. The whole art of war has undergone such a rapid change, that it is no longer what it was in the days of Louis the Fourteenth, when the seige of a town like Almeida, furnished a large army with full employment for sixteen or eighteen months.

I was extremely gratified to meet here with an old acquaintance, Colonel D***, who is just arrived from Corunna. But the pleasure I felt in meeting him was a good deal damped by the intelligence I received respecting our prospects in Spain; which he represents as sadly altered for the worse, within these few weeks. In short, I believe we shall find that the French have

been, as usual, too rapid for their opponents, and that the numerous armies of Spain are already little more than a name.

He represents the common people as brave and well disposed; but as to the Juntas, he says, nothing can be more indolent, apathetic, and indifferent. This, indeed, is the language of every officer here whom I have conversed with on the subject. If so, I fear that Sir John Moore has a most arduous task to perform.

The Colonel came to Corunna on the 13th October, along with Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird's army from England. When they arrived there, the Junta would not permit them to disembark till they received an answer from the Central Junta at Madrid. Hence arose a considerable delay, and it was not before the end of the month that permission was given them to land in divisions, not exceeding two and three thousand men. This is a bad omen of what we have to expect from the Spaniards.

Colonel D*** represents the country of Spain as much better cultivated than what he had conceived from the accounts of Spanish tourists.

There is a British regiment now in garrison here,

and Brigadier-General Anstruther and his suite have been in Almeida ever since the 17th September, during which time this regiment has been performing the garrison duty.

It is strange that, generally speaking, the people of this town are as ignorant of what is passing in Spain, as if they were on the other side of the Atlantic: you must, therefore, restrain your curiosity till I get to Cuidad Rodrigo, the first stage in Spain, when I shall probably be enabled to inform you of the real state of affairs.

I have inclosed in this letter a sketch of the bridge over the Coa River, of which I gave you a description in my last.

I shall send this by the post to a friend at Oporto, who will forward it to England. Adieu.

LETTER XXXIV.

SPANISH FRONTIER.—FORT DE LA CONCEPTION.—COA RIVER, THE NATURAL BOUNDARY—RIBA DE COA, ANNEXED BY KING DENNIS.—CHANGE OF ASPECT IN THE HOUSES AND PEASANTS.—DISTANT VIEW OF CUIDAD RODRIGO—BRIDGE—SQUARE TOWER—BATTLEMENTS—CHANGE OF MANNERS—SUPERIOR CLEANLINESS—COSTUME OF THE INHABITANTS.—TARTAN PLAIDING.—BUTCHERS' SHOPS.—SPANISH PAINTERS—SPAGNOLETTI—MURILLIO—AND VELASQUEZ.

Cuidad Rodrigo, 20th November, 1808.

THIS morning we arrived within the territories of Spain. At an early hour D*** and I left Almeida. After passing for nearly three miles over a bleak flat, the road began to lead into some woods of evergreen oak, and soon after we passed a small rivulet, near which is a fortress, called Fort de Conception, in a dilapidated state, standing on the boundary of the two countries.

The Coa River appears to be the more natural boundary between the two countries; and, indeed, I find that it was so formerly. On consulting the history of Portugal,

it appears, that King Dennis annexed to Portugal a tract of country beyond the Coa, which was then called the Riba de Coa.

On entering the first village in Spain a stranger is forcibly struck with the appearance of the houses, all the windows being fortified with strong bars of iron; the interior of them also evinces a much greater degree of cleanliness than those in Portugal.

In our progress as we passed through a country abounding with game, we met several Spanish peasants, all armed with muskets. We were struck with the superiority of the athletic and muscular form of these men, compared with the Portuguese, many of whom seem dwarfish and cramped in their growth. After passing several small villages, we reached the brow of a gently-rising hill, whence we had a view of a fine fertile plain, bounded by a lofty range of mountains, in part covered with snow. At the further extremity of the plain rose the white towers of Cuidad Rodrigo, to which we approached by a very handsome bridge, of ten arches, thrown over the river Agwada, on whose banks the town is proudly situated on a sand-stone rock. Overlooking the bridge is a large square tower, with battlements and loop-holes, connected with a lofty stone wall, round which the road winds for a short distance, and then enters the town by a strong turreted

gate. The streets here are remarkably clean; a circumstance which strikes one the more forcibly, from the filthy state of those in Portugal. Indeed, there is such a sombre imposing air of barbarous magnificence in the whole place, so different from what I have lately seen, that I can hardly persuade myself that I am only ten miles from Almeida.

D*** had rode on before me, but had not been enabled to procure our billets in the same house, as had always been the case in Portugal. He complained much of the incivility of his landlord, an old overgrown priest, who, on his entering the house, immediately retired, and ordered his housekeeper to show the Englishman up stairs, to a dreary attic room, in which there was a miserable brazero. My billet is likewise in the house of a priest; but as he appears inclined to be very civil. D*** has preferred spending the day with me in preference to remaining in his own quarters.

After putting up my horse and securing my quarters, I lost no time in walking round the town; and shall now communicate to you my observations upon what I have just seen.

The streets in general are narrow, but clean and well

paved, without any side pavement. There are two handsome squares, one of which is close to the cathedral, and is surrounded by several good-looking houses, belonging to the clergy; the other, still larger, contains a market-house and a variety of shops adjoining. The country here being fertile and abounding with game of all kinds, the markets are well supplied.

The costume of the inhabitants is singular, particularly those of the lower class. It consists of a waistcoat, with slashed sleeves, laced in front; pantaloons laced down to the ankle, and their coats are thrown over the whole, the rear in front, so as to resemble a short cloak: their heads are covered with a low-crowned hat, with a prodigious brim, somewhat similar to the London coal-heaver's; the colour of the whole, even to the stockings, is dark brown. Strange to say, the men here all wear large sashes of tartan plaiding, exactly like that of the Highlanders of Scotland. I am puzzling to explain this coincidence. Is it not a proof of their common origin from the ancient Celts? What do you think? Ask my friend G***, the antiquary. You cannot imagine what a ludicrous appearance these fellows make as they strut about. They remind one more of horned owls, or bantam cocks, than men.

The masonry of the houses is very good. They are all

composed of a fine rich ochre-coloured free-stone, which looks very well. The cathedral is a handsome building; at least the exterior, for I have not been able to procure admission into it. The appearance of the butchers' market, which I accidentally entered, disgusted me exceedingly, and you may conceive in what a semi-barbarous state this country still is. The butchers stand on a platform about six feet high, and, after weighing out in pounds and half-pounds their beef, which they slash out, without discrimination, from any part of the carcase, chuck it down into the baskets of their customers, who stand below, and catch it in its descent. The meat itself has all the appearance of carrion, and the butchers resemble, most accurately, those figures which Spagnoletti has so frequently painted in his Martyrdoms of St. Bartholomew, where they are flaying the poor saint in a most dreadful manner. There is also another Spanish painter, whose works are common in England, of whom I have been often reminded in my walk this morning; I mean Murillio, whose groupes of blackguard boys, &c. are the most perfect portraiture of the young race here. Indeed, if you contemplate well the works of these two painters, you will have no slight or inaccurate idea of the inferior inhabitants of Spain; but, for the higher classes, you must consult Velasquez.

LETTER XXXV.

ARRIVAL OF THE FIFTIETH REGIMENT—COLONELS ROCHE AND LOPEZ.—STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.—DEFEAT OF BLAKE'S ARMY AT REYNOSA.—DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE BRITISH.—INDIFFERENCE OF THE SPANIARDS.

Cuidad Rodrigo, 21st November, 1808.

On arriving here, we found the fiftieth regiment had got the start of us. They had just come in from Guarda, having taken a shorter route, and avoided passing through Almeida.

Colonel Roche too, and Colonel Lopez, a Spanish officer, are here, for the purpose, as I understand, of assisting the troops on their march; in which duty they are aided by a commissary.

Through means of my landlord, I have procured a sight of the latest Madrid newspapers, and from these, joined

with what information I have been able to collect from some of our officers, I shall endeavour to make you acquainted with the real aspect of affairs in this country, at the present interesting moment.

It appears that General Dupont, with fourteen thousand men, having been compelled by Generals Castanos and Reding to surrender, on the 19th July, near Andujar, in Andalusia. King Joseph found it expedient to quit Madrid about the 27th or 28th of the same month, taking the road to Segovia. Saragossa too, the capital of Arragon, after sustaining a very severe attack from the French army, had compelled the enemy to retreat, with considerable loss. These reverses, it is thought, cost the French forty thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

This heavy loss had induced their generals to retire beyond the Ebro ; taking up a concentrated position along the left bank of that river, and there they had to wait till they received succours across the Pyrenees.

It is said, that till very lately, their whole force in Spain did not exceed forty-five thousand men. However, on the 26th October last, they appear to have found themselves once more in a condition to act offensively ; and their first operation was the surrounding and taking

prisoners a column of one thousand two hundred Spaniards.

At that time the Spanish force consisted of three armies. That of Arragon, commanded by Palafox and Castanos, formed the right; the army of Estremadura, commanded by Cuesta, composed the centre; while General Blake, at the head of the combined armies of Gallicia and Asturia, and reinforced by the Marquis de la Romana's troops* from the Baltic, advanced towards Bilboa, and formed the left wing.

The first grand operation of the French seems to have been directed against Blake; and the Madrid papers which I have this day seen, contain an account of his entire defeat, after a series of actions, which commenced on the 31st, near Soronosa. Here he received a severe check, and retired, first to Valmaseda, and afterwards to Espinosa de los Monteros. At the village of Valmaseda an action took place on the 5th, which was attended with a partial degree of success to the Spanish army; but, having been again attacked by the French, on the 10th and 11th, at Espinosa, their left wing gave way, and the French got

* Romana's troops amounting to eight thousand six hundred and seventy-one.

possession of a height commanding the road by which Blake was obliged to defile: the Spanish army was in consequence entirely defeated.

Blake, in his dispatches to the Central Junta, extols the bravery and fortitude of his troops, who seem to have been in a most deplorable state; according to his account, having neither clothes nor food, they were, for the last five days, constantly harassed by an enemy, superior both in discipline and numbers.

You will judge from the foregoing sketch what is likely to be the situation of the British army at Salamanca. Indeed, we are all the more disappointed and mortified, as we had permitted ourselves to be buoyed up by the flattering and exaggerated accounts that reached us on our route to this place. When we get to Salamanca, we may possibly find things not quite so sombre as they are depicted here. What annoys us most is the *sang froid* and stupid wonder with which these people seem to regard us in passing along their streets. I can hardly help thinking that I read in their physiognomy sentiments that do not exactly correspond with what we were inclined to expect from them. By the way, I must not omit to inform you, that something like a commotion had almost taken place in this town, in consequence of our soldiers having re-

quested a little salt from the people on whom they were billeted. I dare say you will feel some difficulty in giving credit to this fact, which is, however, a real one.

Sir John Moore passed through this place on the 12th instant. Adieu.

LETTER XXXVI.

ROAD FROM CUIDAD RODRIGO TO SALAMANCA.—LIME-STONE MOUNTAINS.—VILLAGE OF ESPIRITU SANTO.—ST. MARTIN'S DEL RIO.—BOBEDA DE CASTRO.—VILLAGE OF SIETTE CARREROS.—A LEONESE FARMER'S FIRE-SIDE.—SPANISH HOSPITALITY.

Salamanca, 24th November, 1808.

SINCE I last wrote to you, we have had severe frosty weather, attended with very dense fogs; under the cover of which we left Cuidad Rodrigo on the morning of the 21st. Two miles from the gates of that town we entered a steep and rugged defile, which conducted us along the course of a torrent to the top of a high lime-stone mountain, from whence the road, by a gradual descent, led us to a village called Espiritu Santo. From thence our route lay through a dreary barren country; but, perhaps, the state of the atmosphere induced us to form that conclusion. On reaching St. Martin's del Rio, we found every house occupied by the fiftieth regiment, which had lately arrived. We, therefore, proceeded to Bobeda de

Castro. Towards the latter part of this day's journey we rode through extensive woods of the evergreen oak, in which we met several large herds of swine. The mode adopted here of feeding these animals is singular. A peasant, armed with a very long slender flail, made of light wood, marches at the head of this black squadron, and acts the part of a jackall, by beating from the boughs of the oaks their mast, which drops in great abundance upon the ravenous group beneath. These testify their delight by forming a most sonorous chorus of grunting, accompanied by a rapid flourish of their slender appendages behind. Having exhausted the first tree, the peasant attacks others in succession, the swinish multitude following in a thick column, and throwing up a dense body of dust.

Owing to the illness of one of my horses, I was prevented from leaving Bobeda de Castro, a miserable village, before the morning of yesterday, which, like the preceding day, proved remarkably cold, attended with a thick mist. I then proceeded some miles, and was again obliged to halt at a village called Siete Carreros, where I remained all night. I had great difficulty in procuring admission into any of their houses, owing, as I afterwards discovered, to the men being employed at some distance from this place in erecting a new bridge. However, by the mediation of my Swiss servant, who speaks Spanish

fluently, I was at length admitted into a cottage, where I found a good fire, and procured some eggs and wine. At night the owner of the dwelling returned, and expressed great regret that he could not accommodate me with a bed. However he succeeded in getting one for me in an adjoining house, belonging to the principal inhabitant of the village, which afforded me an opportunity of witnessing a novel, and, to me, an interesting sight, the interior of a Spanish mansion, nearly, I suppose, in the same state as it might have existed in the beginning of the 17th century. The whole family, consisting of eight persons, were habited in the ancient Spanish costume; and every article of furniture accorded in fashion and antiquity with the appearance and manners of the proprietors.

As I contemplated the group surrounding the supper-table, I thought what a fine subject it would have afforded for the pencil of an artist.

The major domo was a tall, handsome, dark man; his wife a comely jolly brunette. Three fine children, a brace of greyhounds, and your humble servant, seated opposite to the lively hostess, and endeavouring to conceal the disgust he felt at the sausages swimming in oil and garlick, which she heaped on his plate, while she pressed him unceasingly to eat. In the back ground the domestics were

amusing themselves in calculating the immense value of the hilt of my sword, the tassels of my hat, the epaulets and buttons of my coat, all of which they believed to be pure and solid gold. In short, I was viewed with unremitting wonder and delight; while, on the other hand, I felt as much amused at this picturesque aspect of human nature, amid the wilds of Leon.

After supper I was conducted to a chamber, where I found a clean and most comfortable bed; and at an early hour this morning I rose, and, taking leave of my entertainers, who seemed much gratified by the present of an Indian silk handkerchief, which appeared to have particularly hit the fancy of the fair Spaniard; and, returning them many thanks for their hospitality, mounted my horse, and proceeded through Calzada to this place.

Sir John Moore arrived here on the 13th; and next day the leading regiments came in from Almeida. The troops are all now at Salamanca, except the first battalion of the thirty-second, which, as I mentioned to you before, was left behind at Castel Branco, to bring on the heavy stores from the neighbourhood of Villa Velha.

LETTER XXXVII.

DISMAL STATE OF THINGS IN SPAIN.—DEFEAT OF CUESTA AT BURGOS. FRENCH CAVALRY ENTER VALLADOLID.—APPREHENSIONS FOR THE SAFETY OF GENERAL HOPE'S DIVISION.—APATHY OF THE PEOPLE OF SALAMANCA.—DEFEAT OF CASTANOS AND PALAFOX AT TUDELA.—SPANIARDS UNPREPARED FOR A CHANGE IN THEIR AFFAIRS.—COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA.—DON THOMAS MORLA.—EXCELLENT CONDUCT OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

Salamanca, 26th November, 1808.

THE disagreeable news which first reached me at Cuidad Rodrigo, has been, I am sorry to say, more than confirmed by what I have heard since my arrival here. The French have certainly received very powerful reinforcements, from Bayonne, and are carrying every thing before them. They have not only dispersed the troops under General Blake at Espinosa, but have completely defeated the army of Estremadura, under the command of General Cuesta, consisting of fourteen thousand men. This last battle happened on the 10th instant, at Burgos.

An immediate retreat back to the frontiers of Portugal,

is already talked of here; and I understand that orders have been sent to Sir David Baird to fall back upon Corunna; while the heavy stores are not to proceed farther than Almeida, or Cuidad Rodrigo.

The French army is represented to be particularly strong in cavalry. A reconnoitring party of twelve hundred men, entered Valladolid, and levied a contribution, a few days ago. This is the more to be regretted, because the country hereabouts is so very flat and open, that we shall be unable to withstand that species of force; and most unfortunately for us too, the whole of the cavalry which left Lisbon, except one or two troops, went with General Hope by the way of Badajos. Hence you may have some faint idea of the very awkward predicament in which Sir John Moore finds himself at this moment.

I have hitherto been, as you well know, amongst the most sanguine in the Spanish cause; but since my arrival here, I have witnessed so much apparent apathy and indifference, that I begin to feel the most serious apprehensions of the result. Indeed I cannot help, at times, asking myself if I am really in the midst of Spain. The beings I see muffled up in long cloaks, sauntering here in listless indolence under the piazzas, are so very different from that bold impassioned race, which my heated imagination has

been contemplating, that I wish rather to believe myself in the midst of a Spanish city in Paraguay or Peru.

These sentiments I partake in common with a great majority of this army; at the same time I feel it wrong to gave way to first impressions, which indeed are now too late to be indulged in; besides it ought to be considered, that—

> Adversis etenim frangi non esse virorum,
> Qui Martem inscribant genti, non posse dolores
> Condere, et ex pœna solatia poscere luctus.
>
> SILIUS ITALICUS, Lib. 10.

29th November.

I wish it were in my power to say, that the gloomy prospects stated in the first part of this letter are now altered for the better; but, alas! the facts are quite the reverse. Letters arrived here yesterday from Madrid, stating that, after a bloody and severe action in the neighbourhood of Tudela, the French succeeded in routing the remaining division of the Spanish line, composed of the armies of Arragon and Valencia, under Castanos and Palafox.

We are still without cavalry, consequently ignorant of

the real force or movements of the enemy; and serious apprehensions begin to be entertained lest the French should intercept the division under Lieutenant-General Hope, the head of which, I have just heard, was at the Escurial on the 21st instant. As the whole of our artillery, excepting one brigade, accompanies that division, should any accident happen to it, we shall be in a dreadful dilemma.

Many officers indeed think, that General Moore has not displayed the greatest circumspection, in thus separating his guns from the main body of his army. It is certainly true that they could not have been brought on by the same road which we came; but it is alleged, that General Hope's division ought to have been much stronger. In fact, this sudden change of affairs in Spain, seems never to have been at all calculated upon, either by the Spaniards or the British General, and our whole march was arranged, it appears, under the impression that the Spanish armies would have held together, and covered the union of General Baird's and General Hope's divisions with the centre, under General Moore.

Orders have certainly been forwarded to Sir David Baird to fall back on Corunna, while we are to wait here for General Hope's division, and then to retreat towards Portugal.

I still entertain hopes that such a step will not be necessary, and that Sir John may be enabled to maintain himself here, as our retreat would assuredly tend to increase the despair which the Spaniards seem inclined to entertain of the issue of their cause. One circumstance which still augurs well on their part, they do not appear to be at all afraid of publishing their misfortunes; and as long as that candor continues, I think there is little fear of the general spirit of the country.

We learn, from the Madrid Gazettes, that the venerable Count Florida Blanca is appointed president of the Central Junta, which is now assembled at Aranjuez; and that Don Thomas Morla, who distinguished himself so much in the patriotic cause at Cadiz, has been appointed Minister of War, and entrusted with the defence of the capital. On our march hither, general orders were issued, strictly enjoining the greatest respect for the religious and local prejudices of the inhabitants, which have been well attended to by our troops. In consequence, the greatest harmony at present prevails between our countrymen and the Spaniards. We have all mounted the patriotic cockade, which is composed of red cloth, stamped with the initials of *Viva Fernando Settimo*. I will enclose one for you in this letter.

Every Spaniard, down to the poorest muleteer, bears

ROMAN BRIDGE,
at Salamanca.

this badge; and indeed this seems to be nearly the extent of their patriotism at Salamanca, at least as far as we have hitherto been able to discover. In other respects, you would imagine the country was in a state of profound peace; no energy, no bustle, no alacrity, every thing "dead, flat, stale, and unprofitable!"

LETTER XXXVIII.

DESCRIPTION OF SALAMANCA—ITS MAGNIFICENT BRIDGE PARTLY ROMAN—GRAND APPEARANCE.—THE RIVER TORMES.—PASTURAGE OF VALDIOS.—GUADARRAMA MOUNTAINS.—ROMAN TOWER.—A ROBBER'S SKULL.—CATHEDRAL.—CI-DEVANT COLLEGE OF THE JESUITS. PLAZA MAYOR.—PLAZA DE VERDURA.—SPANISH XANTIPPES.—PICTURES IN THE CATHEDRAL.—JEALOUSY OF THE CLERGY.—PAINTINGS BY BAYCAUX.—IRISH COLLEGE.—CLOISTER OF THE BAREFOOTED CARMELITES.—NUNNERY OF ST. URSULA.—THE NUN OF GUARDA.

Salamanca, 30th Nov. 1808.

This city, so familiar to us all by Le Sage's inimitable romance (Gil Blas), is situated along three small sand-stone hills, in a nook formed by the river Tormes, which, after a course of a few leagues, falls into the Douro. Over the river is a very handsome bridge of twenty-five arches, twelve of which are of Roman architecture, the remainder were added during the reign of Philip the Third, in the commencement of the seventeenth century.

The appearance of Salamanca, at the distance of a few

miles on the road to Cuidad Rodrigo, is very imposing. Its lofty bell-towers and cupolas, the grand Gothic cathedral, numerous convents, and the beautiful bridge, beneath which glides the waving Tormes, form a landscape of the first order.

The country, on the left bank of the river, is an extensive common called Valdios, covered with numerous flocks of sheep, destined for the supply of the metropolis: that on the right is laid out in corn-fields. In the distance are some branches of the Guadarama mountains, whose snowy heads now glitter in the vapoury sun-beams and close in the southern horizon. The scenery would indeed be complete, but for the entire want of trees in the surrounding plain. Nearly in the centre of the bridge is a square tower, with a gateway, which formerly contained a portcullis. The skull of a robber, inclosed in an iron mask, is now the only object appertaining to it, which attracts attention.

Having crossed the bridge, the road conducts under an old Roman arch, by rather a steep ascent, into an intricate maze of dirty narrow streets, the principal of which passes by the great gate of the cathedral, a pile of modern Gothic, covered with sculpture in a barbarous taste; near which is an immense mass of building, formerly be-

longing to that all-powerful order the Jesuits. Since their suppression, it has been appropriated to the use of a body of regular canons, under the name of the church of St. Mark. Turning to the right by a narrow lane, you arrive at a handsome modern square, surrounded with lofty well-built houses, supported on a piazza, the gay Mall of Salamanca. Adjoining to this is another square, in which is held the market for vegetables.

The windows of my lodging command a view of this place, and as I contemplate the busy scene of petty traffic, it gives me some idea of the habits and character of the inhabitants. I observe that the women of the lower classes are irascible to a degree. There is generally a pitched battle amongst them eight or ten times a-day; their tongues are the grand weapons of attack, and as well as I can judge, from the excessive rapidity of their vociferation, the language they use is not much inferior to that of the fair inhabitants of Billingsgate.

It would require, I do not doubt, a topographer, as industrious and indefatigable as Pennant or Lysons, to enumerate all the public buildings of this celebrated university; but as I have neither time nor inclination sufficient for such an undertaking, you must be contented with knowing the few particulars, which have acci-

dentally fallen under my notice, during the few days I have been here.

The first object is assuredly the cathedral. It is said to have been built in the reign of Charles the First of Spain, during the age of Pope Leo the Tenth. The interior is much admired, on account of the height of its nave; but it will not bear very strict criticism, as at that time Gothic architecture was on the decline. It contains several good pictures, particularly a taking down from the cross, by Titian, and two pictures by Espagnolletti: but so afraid are the priests that we heretics should fall in love with any of these specimens of art, that I have hitherto found it altogether impossible to get a better view, than what is to be obtained by peeping through the closely grated doors of the side chapels in which they are enclosed. This *Gothic* cathedral contains a cupola of the *Ionic* order, which, although quite contrary to all rules of art, has nevertheless a very grand effect, as viewed from the centre of the aisle. The organ too should not be passed by unnoticed: it is a very fine one. In this cathedral are stalls for twenty-six canons, who here herd thick, and fare well.

The Jesuits' College contains a series of pictures, by a pupil of Raphael Mengs, named Bayeaux. The subjects

are taken from the legendary life of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of that order. One or two of these are pretty, particularly one, where the Saint is restoring a sick man to health. This College is a very extensive building, as you may judge, when I tell you that, during a former war, it afforded quarters to six thousand French, going to join the army in Portugal. At present, one of our regiments, the thirty-eighth, is quartered in the basement story. In another part of the building were lodged twenty-six or seven lads, from the west of Ireland, who came here to qualify themselves for the cure of Catholic souls. They formerly resided at Seville and St. Jago, but the late King had the establishment removed to Salamanca, in 1778. At this present moment there are not above fifteen of these students, the rest having been dispersed since the commencement of the present contest.

In the monastery of the bare-footed Carmelites is a cloister, containing a series of pictures, painted in fresco. I was advised to visit them, but I wish I had not, as they are the most horrible subjects I ever beheld. The inhuman barbarities practised by the Moors upon the unfortunate Christians who fell into their hands, are depicted with a Gothic fidelity, which is dreadful. Neither age nor sex were then spared. These pictures afford the strongest instance I have ever seen of the truth of Horace's sentiment,

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

Martyrdoms and massacres are assuredly the worst possible subjects for the pencil; but the bare-footed Carmelites have, no doubt, found their account in exhibiting these to the gaping ignorant vulgar.

I accompanied a friend the other day, to visit a convent of nuns in this city. Their patroness is, I believe, St. Ursula, or St. Agatha, I am not certain which; but as it is of no material consequence, you will forgive my want of memory. Never having seen any of St. Ursula's nunneries before, I had been prepared for beholding some of those fine expressive countenances, such as Guercino, Guido, and other Italian painters, have often depicted; but, like many other of those impressions which we imbibe from painting and poetry, my vision proved delusive and incorrect. Conceive then my disappointment, when, on entering the convent, I beheld ten or twelve decrepid old women, wrapt up in woollen dresses, with as little of any thing like feeling or sentiment in the lines of their wrinkled countenances as in any of those creatures whom Denner, Rembrandt, or Gerard Dow have so often painted, and which, in defiance of all just taste, are bought up at such enormous prices in our London auctions. But to return to St. Ursula: Thrice a week these old ladies, at three o'clock,

throw open the door of their parlour, to receive the afternoon visits of their friends, and hear from them all the scandal and little chit-chat of Salamanca.

The old ladies asked my friend a thousand questions respecting the progress of the war. The arrival of a sisterhood from the city of Toro, only a few miles distant, who had fled at the approach of the French, had given them considerable alarm, which we endeavoured to allay. They told us that, after taking the veil, no one of their order ever stirred beyond the fatal threshold, and that no man, excepting their ghostly confessor, was permitted to approach the hallowed recesses of their convent. After some further conversation we left them, having first visited their chapel, which, though small, is very handsome, and divided in the centre by a large grating.

This is the only convent which I have seen in the Peninsula; but if I may credit some officers, who have visited those of Portugal, the nuns there are less ceremonious in receiving the visits of strangers.

At Guarda, an officer of my acquaintance was accidentally walking among the ruins of a lofty tower which overhangs the town, when he remarked the summit of a singular looking cupola. While he was regarding it, and

wondering in his own mind for what purpose it was intended, whether as an observatory or the gallery of a church, a young woman, extremely handsome, habited as a nun, appeared at a grated window.

Having a little knowledge of Portuguese, my friend accosted her. A few compliments passed on the beauty of her complexion, and the sparkling brilliancy of her eyes; and at length he expressed his regret that a being so gifted and formed to adorn and delight society, should be thus immured. She smiled, and told him that it was not quite as he imagined, and if he was desirous of improving an acquaintance, thus fortuitously commenced, she would admit him that night between the hours of twelve and one. He was punctual to the appointment. After waiting some time, a small wicket near the door was opened, and the nun requested he would return again the next night at the same hour, as she had not that evening been able to secure the keys. The following night, at the hour appointed, he returned, and was admitted by the lovely vestal within the holy portals. Early the next morning he left her, regretting that so charming, so amusing a female, should be enclosed within the precincts of a convent.

LETTER XXXIX.

COLONEL GRAHAM ARRIVES FROM GENERAL CASTANOS'S HEAD-QUARTERS.—CONFIRMS THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE BATTLE OF TUDELA. PROBABLE PROGRESS OF BONAPARTE.—ARMY OF RESERVE UNDER ST. JUAN POSTED AT SOMOSIERRA.—PANIC AND DISTRUST EVINCED BY THE INHABITANTS OF MADRID.—DON THOMAS MORLA ENDEAVOURS TO ALLAY THE FERMENT.—DISAGREEABLE SITUATION OF A BRITISH OFFICER.—SOBRIETY AND GOOD CONDUCT OF THE GARRISON.—PAMPHLET OF DON PEDRO CEVALLOS.

Salamanca, 2d December, 1808.

We still are much in the same state as when I last wrote. The safety of General Hope's division remains an object of much anxiety, as we only wait for his joining us to retire upon Portugal.

I have heard that a British field-officer, Colonel Graham, of the ninetieth, arrived two days ago from the head-quarters of General Castanos. He is said to have been present at the action of Tudela, which, according to every

account, was a most decisive defeat for the poor Spaniards, who scampered off in all directions.

Of the operations of the French army subsequent to that victory, we are still completely ignorant; but it is more than probable that Bonaparte, acting on his usual system, will not lose a moment in following up the advantage he has gained. We are, therefore, in hourly expectation of hearing that he has reached Madrid. There is, indeed, no force to oppose him effectually in his approach, except a small army of reserve, formed of the wreck of Cuesta's troops, of which a General St. Juan has the chief command. It is posted in a strong pass, *El Puerto de Somosierra*, amid the Guadarama mountains;* and if some Madrid papers, which I have seen, could be relied on, St. Juan will oppose a considerable resistance to the progress of the French.

From these papers, however, it appears, that a great degree of panic, attended with a demonstration of popular

* *El Puerto de Somosierra*, or the pass of the mountain top. This pass divides Old and New Castile. On the other side, close to the summit, is a miserable village, called also Somosierra. Here, during nine months in the year, a Siberian winter prevails. The road that leads to Somosierra is one of the most magnificent in all Spain. It was begun by Ferdinand the Sixth, and finished under Charles the hird.—See Link's Travelsin Spain.

commotion, has seized the people of the capital, who are exhorted, in a proclamation issued by Don Thomas Morla and the Duke of Castel Franco, to trust with implicit confidence to the measures which the government has taken for the defence of the city.

One of our officers was the other day sent on towards Valladolid, to procure information as to the movements of the enemy. While he was in a village not far from Tordesillas, a small foraging party of French cavalry entered. Major * * * * was concealed under a bed by one of the peasants, and luckily the dragoons soon after retired, without having discovered him.

Our army in Salamanca, as far as I have been able to ascertain, does not exceed thirteen thousand men. It is distributed in the different monasteries and religious houses in and about this city. At the regimental parades which take place on the Esplanade without the walls of the town, twice a-day, the troops appear in high health and spirits, and in the best possible order. The long march, indeed, which they have so lately performed, seems to have been of essential service to them; and I have observed, with some degree of surprize, but with the greatest pleasure, that since our arrival here, not a single soldier has been in a state of intoxication.

The country around is covered with our pickets, who hitherto have met with no body of French troops, which is rather singular. We suppose that Bonaparte either is ignorant of our real situation, or, what is more probable, that he thinks us too insignificant in point of numbers to divert his attention from the completion of his grand object—the dispersion of the remainder of the Spaniards, and the seizure of the capital.

A pamphlet, from the pen of Don Pedro Cevallos, first Secretary of State to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. containing an exposition of the practices and machinations by which Bonaparte got the Royal Family of Spain into his power, has been lately published at Madrid, and is at present much talked of here. It contains little that is new, except the secret treaties concluded between the cabinets of St. Cloud and Aranjuez for the partition of Portugal, and the erection of Algarve into a separate kingdom, as a reward for the treachery of the Prince of Peace.

The perusal of Cevallos's work, however, cannot fail to leave this impression, that men who have already so shamefully abandoned their trust, will have little scruple in again going over to the enemy, the moment they can make advantageous terms; and I, for one, am little disposed to

place confidence in that man who has once betrayed his country's cause, however strongly he may protest the innocence of his motives, or the sincerity of his repentance. But as it is probable that before you receive this, Cevallos's pamphlet will have found its way to England, it would be superfluous to trouble you, by noticing its contents more at length.

Some days ago I was deprived of the society of my friend D * * *, who has been ordered back to Portugal, to take charge of an hospital at Almeida.

LETTER XL.

JUNCTION OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HOPE'S DIVISION AT ALVA DE TORMES.—ENEMY ATTACKS AND CARRIES THE PASS OF SOMOSIERRA. FATE OF MADRID UNKNOWN.—SIR JOHN MOORE ABANDONS HI DESIGN OF RETREATING UPON PORTUGAL.—FRENCH MAIL INTERCEPTED.—REMARKS ON ITS CONTENTS.—SPECULATIONS RESPECTING THE SIEGE OF MADRID.

Salamanca, 9th December, 1808.

General Hope succeeded in forming a junction with an advanced post of Sir John Moore's army at Alva de Tormes, four leagues from this place, on the 4th instant, having been obliged to come by the way of Avila and Villa Castrini, to avoid the cavalry of the enemy, who, after possessing himself of Segovia, attacked the army of reserve under General St. Juan, and carried the pass of Somosierra, under a thick fog, on the morning of the 29th ultimo. He immediately advanced to the Escurial, and has since invested Madrid.

Of the fate of the capital we are still ignorant; all intercourse having been interrupted ever since the 30th. It was intended by our Commander-in-Chief to unite himself to General Hope, and immediately to fall back upon Portugal. What has induced him to alter his opinion I know not; it is certain, however, that a different plan of operation has been lately decided upon. I have heard that a council of war was held two or three days ago, and that this step is to be undertaken in consequence; but of the truth of this fact I cannot speak with any degree of certainty. This I do know, that a French courier was some days ago intercepted on his road to the Escurial, and his mail brought to Sir John Moore. It is barely possible that the letters and dispatches it contained may have had some small degree of weight in inducing Sir John to change his mind; but as we too well know the wonderful finesse with which that nation is wont to impose on their enemies, I hope he will act cautiously.

What renders it the more probable that these dispatches were thrown in the way of the British designedly is, that the newspapers contain the most highly coloured statements of the successes of the French army. According to their bulletins, the Spanish troops fled on the first volley, and victory has attend d their eagles in every rencontre with the patriots, who are re, resented as a set of unfor-

tunate, ignorant wretches, led on by the fanaticism of a few designing priests.

I have only seen some of the gazettes; but have heard that the private letters are mostly couched in the most extravagant and ridiculous terms. One officer begs his friend to bring him one of the best English horses he can procure, and regrets his absence at Bayonne will prevent him from having a share in the plunder of our baggage. Such is the style of many of the letters; but others are conceived in very different terms, deploring the uncertainty of the contest, and expressing the most lively apprehensions that the mountains of Spain will, ere long, prove a grave to the great majority of the army.

Nothing can exceed the vile state of degradation in which the French press at present exists. There is not a single paragraph in one of the journals which alludes to the internal state of the empire. Of every other country there is news in abundance; but of France, wretched, fallen France, you hear of nothing, except the exhibitions of the Gallery of the Louvre, or the state of the theatres. Critiques of new novels, plays, or memoirs, fill up the rest of their barren pages, which are also crammed with the grossest adulation of the conqueror, and the vilest falsehoods respecting England. It is really melancholy

to contemplate the shocking blasphemy and sophistry displayed in almost every line.

"War is the lot of mankind, it has been, it is now, and ever will be the principal occupation of states and powers. Therefore God created human beings for the purpose of massacring each other; and the man of letters who endeavours to persuade us that war may very frequently be avoided, is a poor hair-brained visionary, fit only for *les petites maisons*, whose folly we deplore, but whose ill-timed philanthropy is dangerous." Such is the present reasoning of the French journalists, and such the incense offered up to the destroyer of Europe.

The people here are now speculating upon the degree of resistance which Madrid is likely to make to the French army. It is reported that great preparations have been made by the inhabitants. The pavement has been taken up, to lessen the effects of the enemy's shells; trenches have been dug across the principal streets, and no less than three hundred pieces of ordnance are mounted around the town. Such are the reports circulated in Salamanca.

I strongly suspect that the facts are exaggerated. We all know what can be done by Spaniards in defending a

town. The late defence of Saragossa shews, that the Arragonese are the descendants of the same race who so nobly defended Saguntum and Numantia; but when I calculate the value of the bribes which will assuredly be offered to those entrusted with the defence, I cannot allow myself to feel very sanguine. It would be wretched policy in the Pretender to batter down his future capital. Introduce but a few millions of francs, a moderate portion of promises, some field-pieces and threats, and the keys of Madrid will be sent with all dispatch to the Emperor.

An old Irishman, who has lived thirty-five years in Spain, lately said to a friend of mine here—"You must not trust too much to the Spaniards. I believe they always mean well, but they bluster, and after much bragging, and many big words, like a passionate child, they scold themselves to sleep. This is their character in the common transactions of life. But as to their army, it is a little otherwise. During the last thirty-five years, I have watched its progress, and know it well: when they have had muskets, they generally want cannon; if they have powder, they often are without flints; if they are well fed, then they are naked; if they get shoes, they want a loaf of bread; if the soldiers would fight, the officers are unwilling; and when the generals wish to have an engagement, the men are sure to run away. In short,

my dear countryman, such is the Spanish army, and what, in the name of wonder, can I expect from them now? Only this: that they will leave you to your fate, to get back to your ships as fast as you can; and you may think yourselves very fortunate, if in the way they do not put their knives into your men, whom they already denominate a pack of miserable heretics, and curse for their unasked assistance, in entering their magnificent country."

Such are the sentiments of Dr. O'Leary. I repeat them as he stated them to my friend M'Leod, and leave you to make your own comments.

LETTER XLI.

COLONEL GRAHAM RETURNS FROM TALAVERA DE LA REINA.—THE SURRENDER OF MADRID.—THE DUKE OF CASTEL FRANCO AND M. DE MORLA SUSPECTED OF TREACHERY.—LORD PAGET'S BRIGADE OF CAVALRY ARRIVES AT ZAMORA.—STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION AT SALAMANCA.

Salamanca, 11th December, 1808.

It is said that Colonel Graham, who was sent by Sir John Moore some days since towards Madrid, in order to procure information of the real state of affairs in that quarter, returned on the 8th instant, with the distressing intelligence of the capital having surrendered, by capitulation, to the French, so long ago as the 3d instant. The Duke of Castel Franco and Don Thomas Morla, are accused of having betrayed the cause of their country to the enemy. The Captain-General Castellar, and all the military officers of rank refused to ratify the treaty, and left the town with sixteen pieces of cannon.

The cavalry regiments which came from England with

Sir David Baird, arrived yesterday at Zamora, under the command of Lord Paget, and the infantry are expected to be at Benevente to-morrow. Preparations are still making for a movement towards the left, in order to cover General Baird's junction, when the whole will move forward upon Valladolid.

I am happy, I must confess, that we are at length likely to do something, as the people here have lately become very anxious to see us out of the town. For the last week they have been unceasing in their inquiries, to know when we meant to march; and have lately begun to make some very extraordinary remarks upon our apparent inactivity.

I know not what may ultimately be effected by this army, but I do assure you, candidly, that I believe hitherto our presence in Salamanca has done the patriotic cause no good. As the great mass of people here are excessively ignorant, indeed infinitely beyond what I had conceived possible, they have thought that the delay has been somehow or other occasioned by an unwillingness on the part of our Generals to meet the French, and have even expressed as much to several British officers.

The Marquis de la Romana has been some time at

Leon, collecting the scattered remains of Blake's army. Reports here are various, as to the numbers gathered round his standard. Fifteen, twenty, and even thirty thousand are mentioned; I much doubt his having more than fifteen.

I remark the brilliant patriotic cockade has disappeared from the hats of many of the Spaniards within the last few days. If I may be allowed to consider it as a thermometer of Salamancan patriotism, I should think that it is rapidly on the decline. Violent affections are seldom durable, and I greatly fear that the moment the surrender of the capital becomes public at Salamanca (which at present it is not), they will hasten to bow the knee to the idol. Others, who ought to know something of the Spanish character, think that Catalonia, Arragon, and Andalusia will still hold out for a long time. I cannot venture to give a decided opinion on the subject. But in the coffee-houses I remark, that the Arragonese always claim a very superior character for bravery and independence; and, in conversation, they declare that the French will most assuredly meet with a dreadful resistance to their measures in Saragossa, and the rest of Arragon, notwithstanding the ease with which they may subdue all the other provinces of the Peninsula. The people of the south are, indeed, generally allowed to be a race very su-

perior to those of the north. The Gallicians, in particular, have for centuries been reckoned a debased people. Thus Camoens speaks of them,

——————— Nor wonted fear
Withheld the base Gallician's sordid spear.'

But in Spain, as at home, each native of a province thinks himself superior, in some respect or other, to his neighbour. The cause of this is no doubt to be found in the ancient wars between the petty kingdoms of which this country was once composed. Adieu.

LETTER XLII.

CRITICAL AND EMBARRASSING SITUATION OF SIR JOHN MOORE'S ARMY. —AMIABLE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.— THE SPANISH ARMY.—THE SPANISH NATION.

Salamanca, 12th December, 1808.

CAPTAIN B*** returns to England by way of Oporto, and I shall seize the opportunity of sending by him a packet of letters, written at various dates, since I left Almeida. You will perceive, on perusing them, what an anxious period has elapsed since we entered Spain. Every thing has fallen out as disastrous and perplexing as possible for Sir John Moore, who appears to be one of the best of men, and is greatly esteemed and respected by the army. There is scarcely an officer of any feeling who does not sympathize with him in the very difficult and critical situation in which he is placed. The unpleasant circumstances attending his return from Sweden, his personal quarrel with Lord C***, immediately before he sailed for Portugal (a circumstance notorious here, and much

talked of), the sensibility of his character, his high sense of honour, and, above all, the glow of patriotism which warms his breast and actuates his whole public conduct, makes Sir John an object of the liveliest interest to all around him. No British general, perhaps, was ever placed in a more arduous and embarrassing situation.

It is not likely that much can be done by an army so small as this is, opposed to such a one as the French will soon be able to bring against us. Valladolid is mentioned as the place where the different divisions of the army are to be united. Yesterday about one hundred Spaniards marched from hence to join the Marquis de la Romana's army at Leon. They had been fugitives from Blake's army, and had fled in small parties to Salamanca. Never in my life did I see such a collection of poor, half-starved, ragged, miserable creatures. If the Spanish armies have been composed of such men, I am not surprized at the rapidity with which they have been dispersed by the French.

From what I have said, you will not be much disposed to form sanguine expectations of the result of affairs in this country, and you will be right in hoping with moderation. Spain, equally with Portugal, wants men of education to direct the armed population of the country.

You do not here meet with any one in the middle ranks of life possessing even common information. There are but two classes: the first includes the nobility and clergy; and the second the poor. Where then are you to procure officers? Generally speaking, no dependence can be placed on the first; bribes and promises, it is to be feared, will seldom be ineffectual in purchasing the dereliction of their duty. Fanatic monks and ecclesiastics, you will allow, are not likely, from their habits, to make a figure in the ranks of an army; and the ignorant lower classes, whatever native courage they may possess, and I believe they possess a great deal, can effect nothing of themselves.

I shall take every opportunity of writing; and in the mean time remain ever yours. Adieu.

LETTER XLIII.

BRITISH ARMY QUITS SALAMANCA.—CALIZAL.—ALAEJOS.—A FRENCH FORAGING PARTY TAKEN.—PRISONERS DESCRIBED.—SIR JOHN MOORE PROCEEDS TO TORO.—FRENCH DISPATCHES INTERCEPTED. MISERABLE STYLE OF LIVING IN THIS PART OF SPAIN.—ZAMORA.—THE BANKS OF THE DUERO.—INTELLIGENCE FROM MADRID.

Alaejos, 14*th December*, 1808.

We left Salamanca yesterday morning, halted at a paltry village called Calizal last night, and this morning arrived here. The whole track of country we passed through is very flat and unsheltered; with the exception of some small thickets of evergreen oak, not a tree, or even a hedge row, did we see the whole way.

On entering this place, I found Mr. M***, the messenger, just arrived from England, with dispatches for Sir John Moore. As he has been so obliging as to charge himself with a packet, I take the opportunity of informing

you that the campaign in Spain has now actually commenced. Last night a party of our dragoons (the eighteenth, commanded by Brigadier-General Stewart) fell in with a foraging party of the enemy, at a village called Rueda, whom they entirely defeated, taking thirty-five prisoners, and killing sixteen; among the latter is one major. Our loss is one serjeant and two horses killed, and two men wounded. Our men are still in pursuit.

From a friend, who has received a letter from England by Mr. M * * *, I am concerned to hear that you are still sanguine respecting the result of the contest in this country: at present things have a most dreary aspect.

I have just been to see the prisoners, who are lodged in a house overlooking the square, while a crowd of Spaniards is pressing about the door, apparently regretting the distance at which they are kept by the bayonets of our guard of grenadiers. These fellows would assuredly put them all to death in cold blood, without remorse, if they could get at them. The prisoners are stout good-looking men, Poles, Prussians, Italians, Swiss, and French. Several of them had very lately arrived on this side of the Pyrennees, after marching from the neighbourhood of Berlin and Dantzic. Those who have been some time in Spain, state that their army has lost more men from sick-

ness in Spain than it did during the winter campaign in Poland. Notwithstanding the present severity of the weather, they bivouac constantly, and, in consequence, many of the prisoners' feet are in a dreadful state of mortification, from being frost-bitten. However, not a murmur escapes them. They seem perfectly contented; and the only return which they make to the execrations of the Spaniards standing beneath, is to grin at them from the balconies.

The prisoners confirm the accounts in the Paris papers, as to the division of the French army into eight corps. That in our front is commanded by Soult (Duke of Dalmatia), and consists of twenty thousand men.

I have just heard that Mr. M * * * will not set off to-day, I shall therefore wait till to-morrow before I conclude this letter, as I wish to give you all the information I can collect.

Toro, 15th December, 1808.

For some reason or other, at present unknown, our advance upon Valladolid appears to be abandoned.

We left Alaejos early yesterday morning, during a severe frost and thick mist, and reached this town about mid-day. The country for some way was sufficiently

open to permit the troops to march in columns of companies. After passing through an old town, situated close to the Duero, the name of which I forgot to note down, the road wound close to the banks of that river for nearly two miles; then struck through a plain laid out in vines and corn. On reaching the extremity of the plain, we crossed the Duero on a stone bridge of ten arches. Two of the centre arches had been destroyed by an inundation, and are now replaced with wood. Toro stands on a lofty precipice overhanging the river; the road from the bridge conducts to it by a remarkably steep ascent. The town, which is very ancient, and formerly of considerable note, is still surrounded by an old mouldering clay wall, with square towers and a deep ditch, partly filled with water. The interior is wretched, and dirty to a degree; but, as usual, well stocked with churches and convents. Over the gates of many of the public buildings I observe the figure of a bull, the emblem of the town. The people here, like those at Alaejos, have been collecting all day, with loud shouts, around the house where the French prisoners are lodged; although I ought to tell you, that a week has not elapsed since they permitted a party of ten or twelve French dragoons to parade through their streets, and then depart without a single shot having been fired at them, although there are at least six thousand inhabitants in the place. So much for the courage of the

natives of Toro. This place made a great figure in the fifteenth century, during the wars between Ferdinand, Prince of Arragon, and Alphonso, King of Portugal, which ended in securing to the former the throne of Castile.

Nothing can surpass the want of comfort or misery in which the people of this country live, or, I should say, exist, if I may be allowed to judge from what I have seen since I left Salamanca. Their clothes and linen ragged and threadbare; their persons shockingly filthy; houses nearly unfurnished; windows without glass; fuel dear and scarce; and their food consisting almost entirely of an execrable mess, called *gaspacho*, which they eat thrice a day. This is made of a mixture of vinegar, garlick, lamp-oil, and Cayenne pepper, mixed with boiling water, poured over a dishful of bread. Once a week (on Sundays that is) they allow themselves, as a rarity, a bit of bacon or a sausage; and in this way they subsist all the year round. Their winters are as cold as their summers are dry and sultry. Their chief fuel consists of chaff or chopped straw, thrown over a few twigs; and, as they are unacquainted with the luxury of a pair of bellows, they are obliged to be eternally on their knees, blowing up the embers, if they happen to have any pot or jar on the fire; for they have almost no cooking utensil that is not of earth. Now and then you see a copper ladle, which is scoured very bright,

and hung against the wall as an ornament. Knives, forks, and spoons are rare articles; consequently, they make use of their fingers, and clapping their mess on a low stool, round which they assemble like a set of Hottentots, they endeavour to satisfy the cravings of nature. It is melancholy to contemplate these extraordinary repasts in a country which the All-bountiful Creator has distinguished by so much fertility. Such, however, is the lot of the unfortunate Spaniard.

16th December, 1808.

I have just heard, that in consequence of some dispatches which have been intercepted and brought to Sir John Moore, he has changed his plan of proceeding against Valladolid, and is going to Sahagun, to attack the Duke of Dalmatia, who is posted at Saldanha.

The army is to march to-morrow to some villages to the westward. Head-quarters are to remove to one of these, named Castro Nuevo. By some accident, my baggage-mules have not joined me since I left Salamanca; and, as it is possible that they may have gone towards Zamora, I shall ride there to-morrow, to inquire about them.

Zamora, *17th December*, 1808.

The road from Toro hither follows the course of the

Duero, through a very beautiful valley. The country around is chiefly in pasturage, in part tolerably clothed with groves of oak and alders, and diversified with several cheerful villages. Immediately around Toro the hills are covered with vines, which yield a red wine, little inferior in flavour to that of Burgundy.

Zamora, though of very ancient date, is much the most cheerful and cleanly town I have seen in Spain. It is placed on a hill commanding the Duero, which is here a beautiful river. A Gothic stone bridge of eleven arches opens the communication with the southern bank, and the city of Salamanca, from which it is distant ten leagues.

This city was built on the site of an ancient Roman station, called Senica, by Alonzo the Third, towards the beginning of the ninth century, and made the capital of the kingdom of Leon. It was called Zamora, from the number of turquoises which were formerly found there, these stones being named zamora in the Moorish dialect. It is still surrounded with a strong wall, flanked with square towers, and the inhabitants consider it capable of opposing some resistance to an enemy. Zamora is the seat of the military government of Old Castile, and has been more than usually active in the patriotic cause.

It was at this place that that brave regiment belonging

to the Marquis de la Romana's army was raised, which made such an extraordinary march, to escape from the tyranny of France: if I recollect rightly, it was not less than seventy-two miles in twenty-four hours.

I here received a billet on the house of a Spanish gentleman, who received me with great hospitality. Indeed, the English have been better treated here than in any other part of the north of Spain. About two hours before I entered Zamora, a Spanish officer had arrived from Madrid, with accounts of the surrender of that city to Bonaparte, and several copies of the proclamation issued on that occasion. I have not been able to procure a sight of it, but am, however, acquainted with the leading points. The Junta here would not believe the intelligence; he was accordingly arrested and sent over to the Marquis de la Romana, at Leon. However, I must tell you, that the people cannot help expressing the delight they feel at the abolition of the Inquisition, and the partial suppression of the monastic orders. Several neighbours of the gentleman at whose house I am, came this evening to pay him a visit, and were absolutely capering about the room with joy. One of these was a cura, or secular clergyman. I mention this to you, as it will give you an idea of the great popularity which this first act of the new monarchy is likely to give to Joseph Bonaparte.

LETTER XLIV.

ZAMORA.—REFLECTIONS SUGGESTED BY ITS HISTORY.—FERDINAND OF ARRAGON.—THE INQUISITION.—CASTRO NUEVO.—VILLALPANDO. VALDERAS.—A FALL OF SNOW.—MAYORGA.—SAHAGUN.—LORD PAGET'S ACTION WITH A BODY OF FRENCH CAVALRY.

Sahagun, 21st December, 1808.

I ARRIVED here this afternoon, and shall give you my journal from the 17th, the date of my last letter.

18th. This morning, being unable to hear any tidings of my mules and baggage, I quitted Zamora, after taking a hasty survey of a town which had been the scene of so many interesting events, during the struggle of Ferdinand of Arragon for the crown of Castile. On getting to the top of a small hill without the walls, and stopping my horse to take, probably, the last look at Zamora, I could not but reflect that the landscape I then contemplated had been the theatre on which Ferdinand, that hero and conqueror of the fifteenth century, had laid the foundation of his future greatness. The whole events of that period seemed to flit before me with the rapidity of a vision.

Three centuries have now elapsed since the foundation of that tribunal, which the member of a new dynasty has just dissolved. Since the death of Ferdinand, what a change has taken place in the face of Europe, and how little has been done towards bettering the condition of Spain? It is three hundred years since the union of Arragon and Castile. Two dynasties have already occupied the throne of Ferdinand, and a third has commenced its career, by destroying that tribunal which had been left by Ferdinand as a safeguard to the power of his successors. Since the death of that prince, the other states of Europe have been advancing in happiness, knowledge, and greatness; while Spain, at that period, assuredly the first of European powers, has been insensibly relapsing into imbecility and decay. A population of nineteen millions has decreased to nine or ten; and one thousand six hundred depopulated towns now cover the face of the country.* The expulsion of the unfortunate Jews, and the creation of the Inquisition, laid the foundation of the debasement of Spain; and not one of his successors has possessed sufficient talent or power to strike at the root of the mischief.

* In the time of Augustus the population of Spain amounted to fifty millions. Ferdinand left it at nineteen; and now it is supposed not to exceed nine or ten; two hundred thousand of which are clergy.

Bidding adieu to Zamora, I pursued my road across an open country to Castro Nuevo, a miserable village on a little hill where Sir John Moore had established his head-quarters. There I found my servants and baggage-mules, got admitted into a hovel, and passed the night.

19th. Before sun-rise we quitted Castro Nuevo, and passed through an open country to the north-west. After some hours, we came through Villalpando and some other poor villages, composed of houses built of mud, and reached a town called Valderas, situated on the banks of a small stream, which falls into the Ezla, where we halted. This day we passed several very large flocks of Merino sheep, belonging to the *mesta*, the people attending which were armed with huge iron sheep-hooks, and clothed in goat and sheep-skins, the wool outside. In the afternoon it began to snow very heavily.

On the morning of the 20th we set off at an early hour to proceed to Mayorga, where the British cavalry were posted the preceding evening. The roads are so deeply covered with snow, that it is with difficulty the troops can advance. We passed this day through several more than half-depopulated villages. The inhabitants turned out to view the column of troops as it passed. The men were

clothed, partly in sheep-skins, and partly in old cloaks and Montero caps; the women wore baize mantillas. They regarded us with a degree of stupid wonder, without speaking, huzzaing, or giving any external token, either of satisfaction or discontent. When asked the road, they slowly disengaged their arms from the drapery of their cloaks, and pointed or waved their hands in the direction, but never offered to assist our guides. About two o'clock it blew and snowed most furiously, and about four we reached Mayorga.

Here I was billeted in a good house, belonging to one of the alcalde. We found here an old woman-servant. The master of the house and his two daughters were absent, having fled in consequence of a visit they had lately received from a party of French dragoons, who, on going off, had taken with them several articles of furniture. The weather continued very bad the whole evening, attended with severe cold, so that I saw little of the town.

21st. On entering the kitchen this morning to warm my fingers, I found a young Irish lad, who told me he had been some years in this country, and was now an officer in one of the Irish regiments here. Talking of the affairs of Spain, and the probability of Bonaparte's detaching a force from Madrid, by the way of Salamanca and Zamora, to

take us in the rear, he asserted confidently, that this fall of snow must have rendered the Guadarama mountains impassable. I feel little disposed to adopt that idea, knowing what almost incredible marches the French have already performed elsewhere ; but I am much mistaken if that manœuvre be not at this moment in contemplation, if not actually taking place.

We left Mayorga by a steep descent covered with ice, and crossed by a low bridge over the same stream which flows past Valderas. The road led along fields on the right bank of the stream for five leagues, when we reached this town. About a league short of the town a number of peasants came from a village a little to the right of the road, to acquaint us that our cavalry had had an action with a party of French this morning, whom they had defeated with considerable loss, and taken several prisoners.

When we had got within a short mile of this town, an alarm took place in the front, that a body of French troops were seen on the hills beyond the town. This occasioned the head-quarter baggage to halt ; but Sir David Baird, with a brigade of the guards, coming up, and some artillery soon after, we entered the town of Sahagun, the inhabitants of which received the troops with loud acclamations.

It appears, that on the road from Mayorga hither Lord Paget halted at some villages about a league short of the town, where he received information that the French had six or seven hundred cavalry in Sahagun. He waited therefore till about four o'clock this morning, when he marched on with the tenth and fifteenth hussars to attack them. Unluckily, a dragoon belonging to one of the enemy's patrole, escaped into the town, and gave the alarm, so that, on reaching the spot, he found the enemy drawn out in a field, ready to receive him. Our dragoons, after exchanging a few pistol shots, charged them with great fury. The enemy gave way and fled with precipitation, leaving one hundred and fifty prisoners; among which are two lieutenant-colonels and eleven other officers. Our loss consists of eight men killed and twenty wounded. The enemy had drawn up in a vineyard, where he awaited our attack, in expectation of what really happened, that the stumps of the vines would upset a great many of our horses. But he was not able to derive much advantage from that accident; so great was the superiority of our men and horses, that the enemy was cut down in great numbers. Our dragoons complain much of their new-fashioned fur caps, which, from being top-heavy, either tumbled off during the charge, or were cut down by the heavy French swords, like so much cartridge-paper. In consequence of this coxcomb cap, several of our men are dreadfully cut in the head.

LETTER XLV.

SPECULATIONS RESPECTING THE FATE OF SPAIN.—FRENCH PRISONERS —THEIR DRESS AND APPEARANCE.—SUPERIORITY OF THE HELMET OVER THE FUR CAP.—THEIR NATIONAL CHARACTER CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF THE SPANIARDS.—GENERAL ORDERS ISSUED TO ATTACK THE ENEMY'S POSITION AT CARRION.—THESE ARE SUDDENLY REVOKED ON THE ARRIVAL OF A MESSENGER FROM THE MARQUIS DE LA ROMANA.—DISSAPPOINTMENT OF THE TROOPS.—THE DUKE OF DALMATIA.—CONDUCT OF THE JUNTAS.—THE REASONING OF A BENEDICTINE MONK.

Sahagun, 22d December, 1808.

I HAVE this morning been gratified by receiving several of your letters, which have come hither by the way of Corunna. I am sorry that I cannot agree with you in many of your speculations respecting this country. Indeed I cannot help thinking, that ere this reaches you, you will have altered your way of thinking. It is true that the Spaniards performed prodigies at the commencement of the contest, but their efforts have been evanescent.

Independently of the French force acting on the southern side of the Peninsula, there are upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand men on this side of Spain. After defeating all the three grand armies of the patriots, Bonaparte has taken the capital without a struggle, and the first proclamation which he has issued will do more towards securing his conquest, than the introduction of a fresh army of two hundred thousand men across the Pyrennees.

I have this day been to see our prisoners. They are like those I have before described to you, very fine young men, from all the different nations subject to France. Their dress is dark green cloth, with a large white cloak. Their horses are generally poor animals, much smaller, and slighter made than ours, and, as you may conceive, much out of condition. Nearly one-third of them taken have sore backs. Such was the superiority of our dragoon horses in strength and activity, that they absolutely overturned, and rode those of the enemy down, like as many skittles on a bowling-green. There is one article, however, of these prisoners' dress which I must not omit to notice to you, it is the helmet, which is excellent. It is of the old Roman shape, with a high crest, from which hangs a quantity of black horse hair. The composition of it is a strong plate of brass; and I have now in my pos-

session one bearing the marks of four sabre cuts, not one of which had penetrated to the scalp beneath. Indeed I have examined all the wounded with attention, and find, that while our men are most desperately wounded about the face and head, there is not a single Frenchman cut deeper than the hairy scalp. You perceive what an immense advantage this gives the wearer of a helmet, over the wearer of a fur cap; and I do hope that this new fashion may be laid aside immediately. Many of the French, on the other hand, are in a deplorable condition, from the effects of the weather. I have had their boots ripped from many, who had not been able to take them off for a week. Their feet are in a state of complete mortification.

You may hence judge of the waste of life that characterises the French army. "*Monsieur le Medecin nous mourons ici en Espagne comme les mouches,*" was the answer I received from one of these poor wretches, a conscript of six months, when inquiring of the general state of the French army. Yet, in spite of their misery, it is astonishing to see the thoughtlessness and gaiety which prevails among them.

There is here a large Benedictine convent. In one of the refectories are confined about one hundred prisoners. These men are at this moment acting a dancing assembly;

one fellow has got a fiddle, another performs the part of master of the ceremonies, the rest are *petits maitres*, or *grisettes*; and a gentleman, who has just returned from thence, assures me, that many of the slightly wounded are figuring away in minuets and gavots, as if they were enjoying themselves in the hey-day of the vintage in the midst of France. Wonderful people! What a singular contrast do you form to this race, gliding along with measured steps, muffled in old chocolate-coloured cloaks and montero caps, or standing for hours beneath a dismal piazza, brooding over the national calamities.

23d December.

This forenoon orders were issued by the Commander-in-Chief, for the whole army to proceed from this place, and the adjoining cantonments, at eight o'clock in the evening, to attack the enemy's posts at the bridge of Carrion. Orders had previously been given to procure hospital accommodations for two hundred men in the Benedictine convent. The army was in the highest spirits, at the idea of encountering the enemy, and had turned out under arms, some corps, indeed, were already on their march, when orders were received for the troops to return to their quarters. This threw a sad damp on both officers and men.

Various reasons are at present assigned for this step,

the most probable which I have heard is, that as Sir John was about to mount his horse, an officer arrived from the Marquis de la Romana at Mancilla, with a letter, saying, that the French were advancing rapidly by forced marches from Madrid, to get to Benevente, and cut off our retreat. It is added also, that the force under Marshal Soult, which was at first stated about sixteen thousand, is now known to be above twenty thousand; and that reinforcements are on their way to join him, from Palencia. We have therefore, you perceive, not a moment to lose, and I suppose we shall commence our retreat towards Astorga to-morrow morning.

The Spaniard in whose house I am at present billeted, is a poor man apparently, but one of the alcalde, and by trade a baker. He tells me, that two days before our arrival, he had been to a town a few leagues to the eastward, called Saldanha, where Soult's head-quarters then were, in company with some other members of the magistracy, to wait upon his Excellency, and state the extreme poverty of the inhabitants, and the difficulty, and even moral impossibility there was of their complying with his requisition of rations for twenty-four thousand men, for three days. The Duke of Dalmatia, he says, received them with great formality, but on the whole civilly. In reply to their tale of poverty and distress, he told them that the

rations must be forthcoming, *coute qui coute:* that he was determined to use them well, if they complied with a good grace with his demand; but, that if, relying on the assistance of the British, they offered to shew any contumacy, he would soon humble them. After haranguing to them for some time, during which he spoke of the humane intentions of the Great Napoleon, the gigantic power of France, of the power of the British navy, and the debility of her land forces, he dismissed them. On returning here, they found a body of eight hundred cavalry, sent over by Soult, to assist them in collecting the flour and forage from the neighbouring hamlets; and they had collected some part of the supplies when we entered the town.

We had, therefore, the advantage arising from these vigorous measures, for nothing can exceed the difficulty of getting their Juntas to comply with any request. This I had an opportunity of experiencing this morning, when making some arrangements for the supply of the proposed general hospital. I found the Benedictines very civil, and ready to grant every thing in their power to give or procure. On stating to one of them the difficulty I experienced in my dealings with the Junta:—"My good friend," said the crafty old monk, "you English are too good-tempered with these countrymen of ours; they will do

nothing without compulsion. You ought always, when you make a requisition, to threaten them with a halter, if your demands are not complied with in a given time. Pull out your watch, and put a rope round one of their necks, and I will pledge my existence you will never be disappointed; but, indeed, *mi buen Amigo*, your English Generals are too good-tempered: if they would only adopt the French mode of talking to them, you would not now be in absolute want of bread for your poor soldiers."

I shall not stop to inquire whether the Benedictine's reasoning be well founded or not; all that I can assure you is, that their convent here is a very large fine building, containing sixty fellows as fat as Hampshire hogs, while the rest of the inhabitants are meagre, sallow devils, shivering in the cold, and starving on gaspacho. This difference arises from nothing but the dextrous employment of the same engine—*fear!* If the French tyranny be the terror of the sabre and carabine, theirs is that of hell.

LETTER XLVI.

A CHRISTMAS EVENING AT VALDERAS.—EFFECTS OF A THAW ON THE ROAD FROM MAYORGA.—CAVALRY OF THE MADRID ARMY ARRIVES NEAR VILLALPANDO.—ALARM OF THE SPANIARDS.—FRENCH PROCLAMATION.—RAPIDITY OF FRENCH MOVEMENTS.—PROBABLE EFFECT OF SIR JOHN MOORE'S MARCH TO SAHAGUN.

Valderas, 25th December, 1808.

HERE we are in full retreat, spending a most melancholy Christmas evening. I wish I could transport myself from this miserable *brasero* to your comfortable blazing Devonshire fire: the dust and fumes of the charcoal are enough to suffocate one. But to return to my narrative.

Yesterday morning I was ordered to set off with the wounded English and French prisoners, who were placed in covered waggons, partly belonging to the waggon train, and partly to the people here. The eighty-first regiment

and two medical officers were to escort them, and about one o'clock we proceeded towards Mayorga, which we reached late in the evening.

In the course of yesterday it commenced thawing, and this morning the snow was almost gone. As the divisions of the army quitted Mayorga it began to rain most furiously, and it has continued to do so, without intermission, all day. We came hither by the right bank of the river, whereas, in advancing, we took the left. The country around consists of a deep loam, and the snow, and thaw, and rain, have already made the roads two feet deep in clay. Nothing can be worse for the poor men, not to mention the horses.

Arriving here, soaked with rain, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could get into a house. At length, however, I succeeded. There are three gentlemen, besides myself, in the apartment in which I now write. The French are, it is said, close at our heels. Already the cavalry of the Madrid army have got near to Villalpando, which is only four leagues from hence. The people are in the greatest alarm.

I have just seen a printed proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of the villages, who are flying at the ap-

proach of the French. Every argument is used to calm their apprehensions. They are told, that if they remain quiet in their houses, or will return speedily, no harm shall befal them; but otherwise, their houses and goods will be confiscated, without any exception.

Observe with how much art the French make use of the press here, "They are come," they say, "to free Spain from a tyrannical aristocracy, and a fanatic priesthood." In short, they promise every thing—quite another golden age. You will remember what I told you of the Guadarama mountains. Notwithstanding all the nonsense which the Spaniards had told us, of the excessive depth of the snow there, and the impossibility of bringing an army across at this season, the French have accomplished it, and apparently with ease.

This rapid and extraordinary movement confirms an observation made by Bonaparte to his troops, after the battle of Austerlitz: "Soldiers!" said he, "you have conquered the Austrians by your legs; when they believed you were still at Ulm, they found you under the walls of Vienna."

I know not how far we are to retreat. Report, at present says only to the mountains behind Astorga. At any

rate this movement of Sir John's must do a great deal of good, as it will serve to divert Bonaparte from his march towards Badajos, and the frontiers of Portugal. If the Spaniards can make any exertions in Andalusia and Arragon, now is the time. But I am sadly tired, and must conclude. Adieu.

LETTER XLVII.

LIEUTENANT-GENERALS HOPE AND FRASER'S DIVISIONS QUIT VALDERAS.—DILEMMA OCCASIONED BY THE CONDUCT OF THE SPANISH WAGGONERS.—ALARM CAUSED BY THE APPROACH OF THE FRENCH PICKETS.—MISCONDUCT OF SOME TROOPS ON CHRISTMAS EVENING.—VALENCIA DE DON JUAN.—FORD OVER THE RIVER EZLA.—RUINS OF DON JUAN'S CASTLE—MURDER PERPETRATED THERE.—HUMANITY OF AN ENGLISH SOLDIER.—VILLA MANIANA.—MARCH TO PONTE DEL ORBIGO.—ARMY OF ROMANA.

Ponte del Orbigo, 28th December, 1808.

I RESUME my narrative, my dear friend, after a very fatiguing wet march, knowing my details will be most interesting to you.

Early on the morning of the 26th, the divisions of our troops under the command of Lieutenant-Generals Hope and Fraser, quitted their quarters at Valderas to proceed to Benevente; and I repaired to the hospital, to get my unfortunate charge put on the waggons, and see them again in motion. Having arranged every thing relative

to their food, &c. and placed several of the worst cases in covered spring-waggons, belonging to the waggon train, we found, to our great confusion and dismay, that the other covered waggons, which had been given up by the Commissariat for the accommodation of the sick, were not forthcoming. On going to the spot where they had been placed the preceding evening, under the care of a subaltern's guard, I discovered that those wretched animals, the Spaniards, to whom the waggons belonged, had absconded in the night, taking with them all the mules and harness, and leaving the waggons to their fate.

You may conceive, for I have not words to express the indignation which I felt at this conduct of our noble and generous allies. As for poor Major * * *, he did nothing but execrate and groan, in quick succession; while the unfortunate young Irish subaltern, who had the charge of the guard, had his full share of reproach, for confiding so much to the honour of the Spaniards.

While the Major was galloping about, endeavouring to collect some carriages, I returned to my quarters, to hasten the departure of my baggage mules. The Spaniards were every moment running into the town from the direction of Villalpando, announcing that the French would be at Valderas within an hour. I found the women of the

house rending the air with their shrieks. They flew to me the moment I entered the door, to know if the French army was really approaching. While I was endeavouring to allay their apprehensions, a Spaniard arrived, sobbing and blubbering. On hearing this man's tale, their tears and cries recommenced with three-fold violence, and they began to implore me to escort them to the stranger's house. I could not understand the reason of this extraordinary request, till my servant informed me that some of our soldiers were plundering the shop of the poor man, who was a distant relation of the young ladies, to one of whom he was soon to be married.

The poor girl entreated me with so much earnestness to accompany them to the house in question, that, miserable as I was about the situation of my own charge, I could not resist her petition. On going thither, I observed that the door of his shop had been forced, and several articles, such as hats, stockings, &c. had been carried off. He then dragged me up stairs, when I found that a serjeant and some other miscreants, belonging to the * * * * * * regiment, had been quartered there, and had kindled an immense fire in the midst of the floor, (the rooms here are all paved with tiles), and had, without hesitation, burnt beds, chairs, curtains, tables, window-shutters, and every article, in short, in the room that would burn. I saw the

reliques of this christmas bonfire, and am only surprised that they had not burnt the poor man's house to the ground. In this room were two large trunks, (where now, as in the days of Gil Blas, they still keep every article); the locks or these were forced, and half the contents pillaged.

I never felt so much ashamed of my countrymen as at this moment. I learnt that these unfeeling fellows wore the Highland kilt; but they were gone. I should, I fear, have been rash enough to have given way to the first impressions. I had nothing left, but to assure the poor man that I would acquaint one of our Generals with the outrage, who would not fail to punish the culprits in an exemplary manner; and, added, that he should be reimbursed, if possible, to the full amount of his loss. I did, indeed, make known the circumstance to an officer of rank immediately afterwards, and I have reason to believe that Serjeant * * * * has met with his deserts.

On returning to the hospital, affairs had not mended. Luckily a gentleman belonging to the commissariat was passing, with a convoy of unloaded mules. On my making known the cause of our distress, he gave me eight or ten of these animals, with their drivers, who, he said, were trust-worthy men. I had all the sick and wounded Bri-

tish either placed in the waggons, or, if able to ride, on the mules; and leaving an hospital-mate with the wounded French, together with a captain's guard of the eighty-first, which Major W*** ordered to remain, and, if possible, bring all off before the French pickets entered, we set off for Valencia de Don Juan. Owing to the delay occasioned by this unfortunate affair, it was late and dark before we arrived at Valencia. We got the poor sick put into an hospital, and provided with the necessary refreshments. Valencia itself was almost literally deserted by its magistracy and inhabitants. Only one man of any property was left, from whom we obtained some bread and wine for the sick, on giving the necessary receipts. A benevolent Spaniard opened his hospitable door to myself and companion, and we put up our horses in his stable. The French, we were informed, were expected here immediately.

Sir David Baird, with the brigade of guards had already crossed the river during the afternoon, after having drawn rations here, for the sake of lessening the supply for the pursuing enemy. The poor Spaniard and his wife increased their little fire, and cooked us a morsel of bacon, which, although fried in oil, was grateful to us, and soon afterwards I threw myself on the top of a miserable truckle

bed. I had not been twenty minutes in this situation, when the harsh notes of a bugle made me start from my couch, with almost as much horror as Kemble, in Richard.

We lost no time, you may conceive, in saddling our horses, and getting the wounded hurried into the waggons, and sent off to the fordable part of the river. The night was misty and excessively dark, and it froze severely. Nothing could be more dreary and unpleasant. The deserted streets of Valencia sent back a thousand echoes to every challenge of our sentries. I never was more tempted to regret my destiny than at this moment.

Going towards the river, as the thick mists floated slowly along, my eye could just trace the huge massy towers of the castle of Don Juan, frowning from a high rock over the Ezla. My imagination carried me back in a moment for three centuries. I fancied I heard the shrieks of the unfortunate Don Juan, whose guards were hurrying him to the top of the fatal tower. I even seemed to prefer that pinnacle from whence he was precipitated. The present moment of midnight seemed most fit for such an undertaking, and the words of the poetess rushed full on my mind:

"Fate sits on these dark battlements, and frowns,
And, as the portals open to receive me,
Her voice in sullen echoes through the courts
Tells of a nameless deed."*

I started from my reverie as a screech-owl hooted from one of the loop-holes of the castle, and pursued my road to the banks of the river Ezla.

About half a mile lower down, we reached the ford. This is formed by two narrow banks of shingles, proceeding from the opposing banks, and which, joining in the middle of the stream, form an angle, that renders the passage very dangerous, particularly at night. A serjeant's guard had been left on the opposite bank, to assist the waggons and eighty-first regiment in passing; they had orders to skuttle two ferry-boats which still remained opposite the old castle, whenever the party had passed. On hearing us approach, they kindled a fire with some

* During the war carried on between Ferdinand, Prince of Arragon, and Alphonso thFifth of Portugal, for the crown of Castile, the owner of this castle, Don Juan d'Acugua, having espoused the cause of the Portuguese monarch, was seized by his own cousin, Don Juan de Roble, and thrown headlong from the top of his castle into the river Ezla. Roble then delivered it into the power of Ferdinand.—*D'Orleans' Revolutions d'Espagne, livre* ix.

rushes and grass: but the wind and mist soon extinguished it. A Spanish muleteer was now dispatched, at our request, from the opposite bank, to guide us over the ford. The poor man was mounted on a mule. When near the centre of the stream the animal tript, and taking fright, began to plunge so violently, that the Spaniard was thrown off into the deep water, and carried down by the current, which is very rapid. We heard his cries for some time. An English soldier had run to his assistance, and succeeded in pulling the poor fellow out just as he was sinking.

The river was rising rapidly, from the melting of the snows on the mountains. An officer coming up, who knew the direction of the ford, gave me some assistance. I got across, however, with difficulty; but did not escape a severe wetting. The waggons with the sick soldiers followed, and as I passed the middle of the river, I saw several baggage-waggons broke down.

Quite rigid with cold, I rode on, but owing to the fog I missed my road, and proceeded to Villa Bol, where I procured a guide to conduct me to Villa Maniana. Here the sick were accommodated in a monastery belonging to some Carmelite friars. The town and surrounding villages were filled with Sir David Baird's

division, who had taken a route across the country from Sahagun to Valentia.

This morning, the 28th, Sir David Baird's division moved off to some villages four leagues off, and the sick-waggons were ordered to proceed to Astorga, eight leagues. At this time I learnt, that on the preceding day the Ezla had increased so much by the rain and melting of the snow, as to be no longer fordable. The number of sick being augmented by those of Baird's division, it became necessary, at Villa Maniana, to procure some additional waggons from the commissariat. Oxen wains were the only conveyance which could be procured. The bullocks were nearly worn out when we got them, and all knocked up before we had proceeded three leagues on the road. The day was uncommonly wet, and we were obliged to proceed with the waggon train, and leave a subaltern's guard, and two medical officers, to press oxen, and bring the remainder forward. This day's march has been the worst I ever made. My best horse is become so glandered, that I was forced to leave him behind at Villa Maniana with my servant, for the purpose of having him shot. In order to ease my other horse, which is, I fear, nearly worn out, I have walked the greatest part of six leagues, nearly up to my knees in water, snow, and mud. If I cannot succeed in

purchasing another animal to carry myself, I must ride the mule, and in consequence abandon a great part of my baggage, on the road, to its fate.

On arriving at this town, which is within two leagues of Astorga, I found it occupied by the army and head-quarters of the Marquis de la Romana. Two Spanish officers, one of whom speaks French, are in this house. Their whole army, he tells me, does not amount to eight thousand. They have, in addition to their other misfortunes, a most malignant typhus fever raging amongst their troops, and nearly one-half are in the hospitals, into which they send sixty or seventy daily. Both these officers have had the fever, and are now far from well. Of their sufferings he has given me a sad picture, which I know to be but too true, from what I have seen. They are literally half-naked and half-starved.

The Juntas, speaking generally, are most miserable assemblages of ignorant, illiterate men, and possess not the talents or information of a parish vestry in England. Judge then what can be done by such men against the immense means of an enemy, equally distinguished for talent, vigour, and promptitude.

I have taken care that none of my convoy should be

placed under the same roof with the infected Spaniards, and shall leave this place early to-morrow morning for Astorga. I hope in God that we are not to retreat much further, at least not in this rapid manner, for it is most dreadful, particularly for the sick. Formerly there was some remnant of the humane spirit of chivalry in our wars with France; now there can be none, or we should leave our hospitals behind, to the humanity of the enemy.

LETTER XLVIII.

PONTE DEL ORBIGO.—RASCALITY OF THE SPANISH PEASANTRY.—ASTORGA.—IMPERIAL GUARDS DEFEATED NEAR BENEVENTE.—GENERAL ORDERS ISSUED BY SIR JOHN MOORE.—MYSTERY THROWN OVER THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ARMY.—FRENCH SYSTEM.—VILLAGE OF MANZANAL.—THE MAUREGATOS:—CONJECTURAL ORIGIN.—CONTRAST OF BARBAROUS AND CIVILIZED LIFE.—SIERRA DE FUEN SEVADON.—VILLAGE OF SEVADON.—MOLINA SECA.—PONFERRADA.—VALLEY OF EL BIERZO.—REACH CUBILLOS.

Cubillos, 30th December, 1808.

On the morning of the 29th I left Ponte del Orbigo. It is a small town, situated, as the name denotes, close to a large bridge of several arches, thrown over the river Orbigo, which unites with the Ezla, and after a considerable winding course, falls into the Iverto and Duero, about six leagues below Zamora.

On getting the sick and wounded placed in the spring-waggons, I found that the rascally Spaniards had again

given us the slip, by setting off with all the commissariat mules. It was no time to repine or delay. I set off, and, about four miles from the town of Orbigo, saw at some distance four boors with oxen wains. I sent some of the soldiers into the fields after them. They seized three, the fourth mounted his car, and drove off his cattle at full gallop. I therefore got some more of the poor fellows placed on litters, but the unfeeling Spaniards would not proceed by any force or persuasion. At length two scampered off, and the third remained to conduct the wains. In this style we reached Astorga, where I was in hopes to have found the end of my day's journey; but on seeing an officer there of the Quarter-master-general's department, it was decided that it would be better to carry the sick on to a village in the mountains, called Manzanal, as all the hospitals and convents in Astorga were crowded with the sick of Romana's army. After halting at Astorga for a few hours to exchange some of the spring-waggons, which had got out of repair, and get some necessaries for the sick, I set off for Manzanal.

With the name of Astorga you are familiar. Poor Gil Blas was, you recollect, imprisoned here, after his escape from the robbers' cave. It stands on a small plain, at the foot of a range of high mountains, called the *Sierra de*

Sevadon. It is surrounded with old walls, and there are the ruins of a handsome castle, belonging to the family of the Marquis of Astorga. Beneath winds a small river called Tuerria. There is a cathedral church: the Bishop is suffragan of Compostella, and Astorga was once called the *City of Priests*, from the number of them that had collected within its walls.

Be that as it may, here I found several regiments belonging to General Hope's and Fraser's division, who made me acquainted with an action which had taken place near Benevente on the preceding day, between our hussars and the chasseurs of Bonaparte's imperial guard. Our lads, I am happy to say, gave them a complete drubbing, and took upwards of seventy prisoners, among whom is a General of Division, named Le Febvre, the Colonel, and some other officers of the Imperial guards.

Every officer seemed anxious to learn whether Sir John really intended to retreat beyond the mountains. Those of General Baird's army who had travelled this road, thought that we would certainly not go beyond Villa Franca, near which place, I am told, there is an exceedingly strong position. Others, however, continue to assert that the whole army is to retreat to Vigo. An acquaintance put into my hand at Astorga the following copy of

General Orders, which were issued at Benevente by Sir John Moore:

GENERAL ORDERS.

"*Head-Quarters, Dec. 27,* 1808.

"The Commander of the forces has observed, with concern, the extreme bad conduct of the troops of late. At a moment when they are about to come in contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are the most requisite: he is the more concerned at it, as till lately the behaviour of that part of the army at least, which was under his own immediate command, was so exemplary, and did them so much honour. The misbehaviour of the troops in the column which marched by Valderas to this place, exceeds what he would have believed of British soldiers—it is disgraceful to their Officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention. The Commander of the forces refers to the General Orders of the 25th of October and the 11th of November; he desires that they may be again read at the head of every company of the army; he can add nothing to this, but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent; he can feel no mercy towards Officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties; or towards soldiers who disgrace their country by acts of villainy towards the country they are sent to protect. The Spanish forces have been overpowered, and until such time as they are re-assembled, and ready to come forward, the situation of this army must be arduous, and such as to call for the exertion of qualities the most rare and valuable in a military body. These are not bravery alone, but patience and constancy under fatigue and hardship, obedience to command, sober and orderly conduct, firmness and resolution in every different situation in which they may be placed. It is by the display of such qualities only that the army can expect to deserve the nameof soldiers, that they can be able to withstand the forces opposed to

them, and to fulfil the expectations of their country. It is impossible for the General to explain to his army the MOTIVES of the movements he directs. The Commander of the forces can, however, assure his army, that he has made none since he left Salamanca which he did not foresee, and was not prepared for; and, as far as he is a judge, they have answered the purposes for which they were intended. When it is proper to fight a battle, he will do it, and he will chuse the time and place he thinks most fit. In the mean time, he begs the officers and men of the army to attend diligently to discharge THEIR parts, and to leave to HIM, with the General Officers, the decision of measures which belong to them alone. The army may rest assured that he has nothing more at heart than their honour, and that of his army."

From a passage towards the end, you will observe that the officers have begun to murmur at the rapidity of our retreat. I should tell you, that hitherto the greatest mystery has been sedulously thrown over all our proceedings, which has not tended to conciliate the minds of either men or officers towards the measures of our Commander-in-Chief. A certain degree of secrecy is no doubt necessary and highly proper on many occasions, but too much of it is generally offensive to soldiers on service; and it would be, perhaps, better if Sir John Moore had steered more of a middle course in that respect. You know, that in the French army, it has latterly been the fashion to act on a plan directly opposite; every one has some idea of the motives of his actions, and is therefore more prompt in doing whatever may contribute to the general good.

An anonymous author has stated, that "secrecy has in all times been considered as essential to the success of military operations; the French think otherwise. The plan of the General is known to the whole army: the soldiers being almost all men of some property, rarely desert to the enemy; it is consequently very difficult for him to learn what is passing in the French camp. The French have, besides, discovered the means of concealing their designs without the tiresome method of secrecy. The General has no sooner an operation in view, than the whole army becomes acquainted with it; while, at the same time, numberless other operations are spoken of. In every circle of officers and soldiers, the plans are discussed and reasoned on, objections are made, and new projects formed. Amidst a crowd of false observations, some just ones necessarily arise; these are applauded: and the difference of situation, rank, or subordination, is no hindrance to their reaching the ears of the General. When he walks through the camp, or visits the different posts on a march, or in action, a soldier says—'General, if we were to do such a thing, we should beat those b——.'—The General replies—'F——e, you are in the right, we shall beat the Imperialists,'—and either himself or staff make use of the observation, if it be a good one."*

* See Military Characters of the different European Armies, London, 1803.

I have been often assured by a French General, who was himself on the French staff at that affair, that the French would certainly have lost the battle of Rivoli, but for a grenadier crying out to the General—"Mon. General, why don't you place three guns upon that height?" It was done, and changed the aspect of things immediately; the French taking fifteen thousand prisoners. But to return. After a further march of three leagues and a half from Astorga, I reached the Mauregato village of Manzanal, where I halted my convoy for the night.

In the country around Astorga, are a number of small villages, remarkable as being inhabited by a set of people called the Mauregatos, who possess a distinct costume, and different manners from the surrounding inhabitants. Their origin is involved in a considerable degree of obscurity. But it is recorded in Spanish history, that Don Alonzo, King of Leon, who reigned about the middle of the eighth century, left an illegitimate son, named Mauregato. Some years afterwards his grandson, Don Alonzo the Second, having mounted the throne, in 783 this Mauregato started up as a pretender to the crown of Leon. Abderamenes, King of Cordova, consented to assist him, on condition that he should annually receive, for the use of his seraglio, a hundred Leonese virgins from Mauregato.

This infamous tribute having been promised, a powerful army was sent by the Moors, and Mauregato succeeded in deposing Alonzo, who fled to the mountains of Biscay. Mauregato, in recompence to the Moorish soldiers who had assisted him, granted them a tract of country. It has been conjectured, that these people were mostly expelled in succeeding ages from Leon, with the exception of a few who fled to the mountains behind Astorga, where, by means of intermarrying with each other, they have contrived to produce a distinct race.—On entering Manzanal, I found the village in an uproar. A detachment of Romana's army had just arrived, and were billeted upon the inhabitants. In answer to a general request, for straw and fodder for the mules, the Mauregato women replied that they had none. This would not satisfy the Spanish soldiers, who were breaking open the doors of the houses and barns, and withdrawing the straw by force. The women, whose husbands, acting as muleteers in the mountains, or shepherds of the *Mesta*, are generally from home, were uttering the most hideous shrieks, and attempting to defend their property. The Juiz came running to request I would interfere in restoring tranquillity, which I did at some personal risk. However, after receiving several blows, and narrowly escaping the stab of a knife, which a fellow aimed at me, I thought it better to leave them to settle their own quarrels. Having placed the sick in some

houses, I succeeded in getting into a wretched cottage, where were several poor women, belonging to the guards, in great distress, having just heard that their brigade, which they had left at Villa Bol, had been attacked by the enemy, and had suffered great loss. I was happy in assuring them that the rumour was false, and that the cavalry, not the guards, had been engaged. In this hovel the fire was placed in the centre of the room, and, as there was no chimney, the smoke escaped as it could through the thatched roof. The fuel being composed of wet roots of heath, emitted more smoke than either heat or light, and offended our lungs and eyes greatly. By means of entreaties and money, I succeeded in procuring a lamp, and a little oil, from the female of the hovel. She produced it with great unwillingness, saying it could not be bought without sending to Astorga. During the long months of winter, the inhabitants here live with no other light than that of their fire. As to windows in their hovels, they have none. By the light of the lamp, I had an opportunity of contemplating the extraordinary dress and dark countenance of the Mauregato family. It consisted of a tall, ill-looking woman, and three wretched-looking children, two of whom seemed expiring under hectic fever. They were all filthy to a degree; their hair matted and uncombed; their faces, hands, and linen, appeared never to have been washed. Around the woman's neck was a

triple row of large beads, and medallions of saints, and from her ears depended two immense hoop rings. The poor creatures did nothing but shiver and sigh over the embers; every thing around bore the aspect of misery itself. Never was a finer opportunity for a philosopher to contrast the savage with the civilized state. Could Rousseau have risen from the grave, he must have recanted his sophistry, and acknowledged his errors! The poor Englishwomen and their children appeared like a race of celestial Houris, compared with the Mauregato females.

After passing an indifferent night, on a wooden machine, formed something like a garden-chair, I quitted Manzanal, and proceeded over the mountains towards Bembibre. The road, which was extremely steep, was for many leagues knee-deep in snow; and it was with the greatest difficulty I was able to get through it, the horse I rode having been knocked up. After ascending for several miles, and passing the village of Sevadon, which gives its name to this range of mountains, we reached the summit, covered with thick clouds and drifting snow, through which we waded for an hour. The road now winds down by the edges of precipices, and the most stupendous alpine crags, amid fastnesses much more wild and strong than any I have hitherto seen, even in the mountains of Silesia, or the Alps of Moldavia and Hungary.

I cannot conceive it would be possible for any invading army to penetrate into Gallicia, if these passes were defended by a body of brave and determined men. You will yourself judge, by the inclosed sketch, which I drew on the road between Sevadon and Molina Seca. At the extremity of the pass of Fuen Sevadon, I passed through Molina Seca, and shortly after through the town of Ponferrada, or the impregnable bridge, which is placed on the confluence of two torrents, and commands the entrance to the mountains. Here are the ruins of an old castle, which appears to have been formerly exceedingly strong. Quitting Ponferrada, I soon had a view over the valley of El Bierzo, a fertile tract, shut in on each side by stupendous mountains, and finely watered by a branch of the Minho. In the midst of this vale lies the town of Bembibre, where I had intended to halt; but, to my great disappointment, I found every house occupied by part of General Fraser's division, so that I was obliged to come on to Cubillos.

Having arranged the sick in their quarters for the night, I got a billet on an old farmer here, who is tolerably civil. Here are also a great number of sick belonging to Romana's army. To-morrow I proceed to Villa Franca.—Adieu.

LETTER XLIX.

CUBILLOS DESCRIBED.—ROAD TO CACABELOS AND VILLA FRANCA DEL BIERZO.—VALCARSA RIVER.—CASTLE OF THE MARQUIS OF VILLA FRANCA.—GENERAL LE FEBVRE.—ACTION NEAR BENEVENTE.—BAGGAGE TAKEN NEAR VALDERAS.—DESTRUCTION OF AMMUNITION.—CELERITY OF THE RETREAT.—SURPRISE AND INCREDULITY OF THE SPANIARDS.

Villa Franca del Bierzo, 1st January, 1809.

YESTERDAY morning we quitted the village where we had passed the night. It is a beautiful spot, seated near the foot of a hill, on which stands an old convent, commanding a view over the surrounding country, which is very fertile. The road descends to a handsome bridge, of a single arch, thrown over a fine river, rolling amid rocks, and woods of chesnut-trees. Our route led us through a country fenced with hedges, and interspersed with corn and turnip fields, till we reached the village of Cacabelos,

a league and a half from this place, celebrated in Gil Blas, for the adventure of the amorous carrier and the chaste Asturian. From thence the road ascends, and conducts through a well-cultivated country to Villa Franca Del Bierzo. This town is placed in a little valley, at the bottom of some very lofty mountains, which rise almost perpendicular towards Gallicia. Between the city and these mountains runs the little river Valcarsa. Here is an old castle, belonging to the Marquis of Villa Franca, commanding the Gallician Pass. I can hardly express to you how delighted I was on reaching this place. From Astorga hither we have either been obliged to cut our way through deep snows, or wade nearly to the knees in mud; and my horse being knocked up, I performed the journey chiefly on foot. The soles of my boots are now worn out, and I am almost literally barefoot. On waiting on Major Covell, of the seventy-sixth, the Commandant of Villa Franca, he received me with the greatest politeness and hospitality; and by his kind assistance, and the exertions of Mr. D'Arcy, surgeon of the seventy-sixth, I had the sick placed in the hospital here, and made more comfortable than they have been since we left Sahagun. The marked attention of both these gentlemen has been such as I can never forget. Poor Steele, assistant-surgeon of the eighty-first, who was sent on with me from Sahagun, has

been extremely ill with dysentery for several days, and will, I fear, be unable to proceed any farther.

I was therefore almost overwhelmed with my fatiguing duty when I reached this place; and know not how I could have got on to Lugo, had it not been for the timely succours of Major Covell and Mr. D'Arcy.—All this morning Lieutenant-General Hope's division has been coming in from Bembibre, and General Fraser's has gone on.

Captain Wyndham, Aide-du-Camp to General Moore, arrived here last night, and proceeded almost immediately to Lugo. He is charged with dispatches from the Commander-in-Chief for England, and has under his care the French General Le Febvre, who was taken prisoner in the affair near Benevente.

The action was highly honourable to the British cavalry. The enemy forded the river Ezla, the bridge having been blown up. The cavalry of the King's German Legion, headed by Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, bore the brunt of the engagement till the arrival of the tenth hussars, who supported the pickets. Le Febvre, who is a young man, the son of the Marshal, was taken

prisoner by a hussar of the tenth, named Grisdale, as he was attempting to recross the river.

I find that two hours after I quitted Valderas, on the 26th, a convoy of two hundred commissariat mules were taken by the enemy's advanced guards, the muleteers having scampered off at their approach, and left the stores to their fate.

All this morning troops have been coming in, and our artillery-men are employed in destroying and burning ammunition waggons, and throwing their contents into the river. Hence it would seem that we are still rapidly to retreat; report, indeed, says, that we are to go from Lugo to Vigo, and embark there for Cadiz.

Several old and experienced officers seem to be perfectly astonished at the celerity with which Sir John Moore is carrying on this retreat, and predict that, by the time we reach Vigo, should this march against time be persevered in, one-fourth of the army will certainly be left in the ditches.

Those who defend Sir John Moore, on the other hand, allege the probability that Buonaparte has sent on co-

lumns, by lateral roads, to take us in the rear at Lugo, and intercept our march to the sea. Without having travelled over the neighbouring country, it is difficult to say whether such a dread be well founded. Many able officers think it is not. The Spaniards here are perfectly incredulous of the advance of the French, who are now on this side of Astorga.

When I reach Lugo I shall write you again. Meantime, farewel.

LETTER L.

ROAD FROM VILLA FRANCA DEL BIERZO.—PASS OF STA. MAGDALENA.—VILLAGE OF HERRESIAS.—TROOPS DISGUSTED AT THE RAPIDITY OF THE RETREAT, BUT EAGER TO ENGAGE THE ENEMY.—MOUNTAIN IRRIGATION.—VILLAGE OF CEBRERO.—ENTER GALLICIA.—FATAL EFFECTS OF FATIGUE.—VILLAGE OF HONORIAS.—BLACK HELLEBORE.—NOGALIS.—BRIDGE NEAR CONSTANTINE.—WANT OF HORSESHOES.—OFFICERS OF THE IMPERIAL GUARDS.

Lugo, 5th January, 1809.

I ARRIVED here this morning, and met a friend, who goes in a few hours to Corunna, whence he will sail immediately for England. I shall therefore take the opportunity of sending you this packet, lest any accident should befal it before I get to the shore myself.

I left Villa Franca del Bierzo, on the afternoon of the 2d, with a convoy of sick. I had been fortunate in meeting with my friend, Captain D***, who procured me a

pair of new shoes, and another horse, to replace the one that I lost on the road from Bembibre.

From Villa Franca we entered the side of a deep valley, completely closed in on each side by tremendous precipices. In its windings, the rapid river Valcarso rushes from the mountains. For some miles lofty chesnuts and oaks shaded us on the left. The road itself is a *caminha real*, cut at great expense, the whole way from Astorga to Corunna, and does the engineer who planned it great credit. It resembles a good deal Wolfe's grand military road through the Highlands of Scotland. Five leagues from Villa Franca we reached Herresias, where we halted for the night. During this afternoon's march, I was in the rear of the gallant forty-second regiment. Many of these poor fellows were obliged to fall out of the ranks, and throw themselves down in despair by the road side. It was a sad sight to behold the wretched state of the troops. A degree of spirit approaching to mutiny was manifest among them, owing to the excessive fatigue which they had undergone, and the disgrace, as they deemed it, of running away from the enemy.

I should be afraid to repeat to you many of the reflections which these poor men made. What they chiefly appeared unanimously to wish was a few hours pause, or

rest, and to have an opportunity of trying their strength with the enemy.

Early on the morning of the 3d, we continued our march up the mountain. The road is here cut through the rocks. These, all the way from Astorga, are granite, either primitive or secondary. We winded along the left side of a stream, which was led off with great art, so as to irrigate the sides of the mountain. These verdant acclivities presented an extraordinary contrast to the savage, rugged heights above. At intervals, in the deep valleys, the eye is occasionally arrested by the smoke of a solitary hamlet, or cottage. Under any other circumstances, I should have thought the views delightful; but now nothing could please, or call off the attention from the contemplation of the horrid scenes every where to be witnessed on the road. The irrational part of us had, of course, suffered severely: dead bodies of horses, mules, oxen, asses, &c. met the view at every turn. Arriving at the *Puerto*, we soon after reached the village Cabrero, on the summit of the mountain which is the boundary of Gallicia. Here again we had to scramble through deep snows.

Broken waggons and carriages, money-carts, dead animals, and the bodies of human beings, who had perished from the inclemency of the weather during the night,

night, strewed the way for miles. Never had I conceived, much less witnessed, so awful a scene. I believe that all the dreadful images which the poetic imagination of the great Poussin collected, in his plague of the Philistines, were here united. In one baggage-waggon, which had overturned during the night, an unfortunate soldier's wife, as I have since learnt, with several children, were frozen to death.—But why dwell on these horrors; the bare idea of which must make you shudder? Descending the western side of the mountain, by a road many feet deep in mud, we reached the village of Honorias, situated close to a fine oak wood. This part of the mountain is very rich in plants and shrubs; I particularly remarked great quantities of black hellebore growing very luxuriantly. The aspect of the country improved as we descended some miles farther towards Nogalis, where we halted for the night. Owing to the number of regiments here, it was with difficulty a house could be procured for the sick and wounded. The village, as usual, was deserted by the inhabitants.

The magistrate had behaved very ill towards some part of Sir David Baird's army during the advance; in consequence of which he had been reprimanded, if not chastised, in the manner he deserved; he had therefore fled on hearing of our return. Here, as well as at Villa Franca,

some rations of salted beef and rum were issued to the soldiers. As early as possible on the 4th, the troops quitted Nogalis. The road wound for some miles along the serpentine course of a rapid stream, which passes through the last-mentioned village. The ground under foot was as bad as any we had passed; and many of the men were still miserably provided with shoes, notwithstanding a large quantity had been issued at Villa Franca.

After several miles of gradual descent, we arrived within sight of a noble bridge, of three arches, resembling an aqueduct, which unites the sides of a deep ravine, and carries the road over the stream before-noticed. As I had heard a great deal from several officers of the strength of this ravine, and the impossibility of the enemy's bringing their guns over, if the bridge should be blown up, I took a hasty sketch of it, which I now inclose.—The structure itself reminded me strongly of the Pease bridge, near Dunbar, which you well know. Near this place we met about three hundred armed Spaniards, who were waiting to cross after the British troops.

On this bridge was an engineer-officer, directing the operations of a party of pioneers and artificers, digging a mine for the destruction of the centre arch. We soon passed two villages, named Constantine and Sobradelo,

which skirt each side of the road. The country hereabouts is very fertile, and richly covered with fine oak woods. Sir David Baird and Lord William Bentinck were reconnoitring its positions as we passed. Several regiments halted in these hamlets; but it was thought better to move our convoy on to Lugo, to be out of the way in case of an engagement. After two leagues, we came to a village, and stopped some hours to refresh the sick, and the horses of the waggon-train. Towards midnight we proceeded, and came in here this morning. The sick are now well lodged in a convent. The route from Nogalis was marked by the same spectacles as the preceding day's. I had the curiosity to count the dead horses and mules for the space of two leagues, and at a moderate calculation their value amounted to more than twenty thousand pounds. I am sorry to find that this sad necessity has, in a great measure, arisen from want of shoes. Our march has been so rapid, that there has been no time to hammer new ones, although in most towns in Spain iron bars are plenty enough. I am not a little surprized how the French cavalry can pursue ours, as they must of course suffer the same distress. Horse-shoes, as they are made in England, are so extremely heavy, that no dragoon can well carry more than four; but if we were to adopt the kind of thin, light shoes I have seen used by the Turkish farriers, they might carry double the number. It would be very convenient,

too, if every dragoon could occasionally shoe his own horse, which is not a very difficult operation.——But my friend Wylde is just setting off, and I must conclude. He is conducting three officers of Bonaparte's Imperial Guard to Corunna. They are good-looking men, with enormous mustachios, clad in scarlet jackets, most gorgeously adorned with gold lace; but their manners and address completely betray the rank which they held in society before the revolution. They are all members of the Legion of Honor. Once more, farewel.

LETTER LI.

AN OLD LICENTIATE AT LUGO—HIS PHILIPPIC AGAINST THE ENGLISH.—ARRIVAL OF SIR JOHN MOORE.—HUSSAR SHOT AT VILLA FRANCA FOR MARAUDING.—LIEUT.-GENERAL FRASER'S DIVISION RECALLED FROM SOBRADO.—ARMY TAKES UP A POSITION IN FRONT OF LUGO.—BATTLE OFFERED TO SOULT—HE DECLINES IT.—BRITISH RETIRE.—GUITTIREZ.—BETANZOS.—BRAVERY AND SPIRIT DISPLAYED BY THE STRAGGLERS.—THE TROOPER.

Corunna, 11th January, 1808.

THE morning I entered Lugo, I met two officers then setting off for Corunna. As I was unprovided with any quarters, they advised me to take up my lodgings in the house which they were then to quit, adding, that the possessor of it had treated them with great hospitality, and that they were persuaded I should be very comfortable there.

I was made happy by this assurance, as I had not had my clothes off for several nights. Indeed, after leaving

Villa Franca, men and officers, and even horses, had generally lodged together in any hovel or barn they could possibly enter. Therefore, after arranging some business, I repaired to the house before-mentioned, belonging to a canon of the cathedral. My friends had set off, and on entering, I was accosted in an angry tone by a female, who asked me what I wanted. On explaining the motives of my visit, she retired to call her master, who soon after appeared. I now met with a very different reception indeed, from what I had been taught to expect. He began by acquainting me that a letter had just been received from the Marquis de la Romana, at Orense, informing the Junta of Lugo that the English were deserting their cause, and retiring to their ships.

The old man said, that nothing could be more cowardly or ungenerous than such a conduct; and that no words could express the astonishment and indignation which the knowledge of this circumstance had created in the breasts of the people of Lugo; that they were, in consequence, determined no longer to have any connection with us; and that the Marquis, with his handful of men, would still show what could be done by brave and determined Spaniards.

By way of answer to this philippic, I mentioned the

surrender of the capital, the treasons, weakness, and indecision of the Provincial Juntas, their want of union, and the small number of men in arms; but he would not listen to me. "Why destroy all our bridges?" said he, "Why shoot your poor horses? Why burn your stores and waggons, and destroy your ammunition? If you will not stay here and use those things yourselves, why not give them to us?"

I found that it would be in vain to lose time in debating the point with this violent licentiate. I therefore made a motion to be gone; but, getting between me and the door, he began an attack on the score of religion—denouncing all heretics, and telling me that our troops had profaned their cathedral; but that the Junta had placed four soldiers at the door, to prevent any more English from entering. I now recollected, that on passing close to some armed Spaniards near a church, one of the fellows had touched me rather rudely with the end of his bayonet, which I, at the time, thought merely accidental, and pushed on. The real cause now flashed on my mind, and praying God to forgive me for the folly of all my former unreasonable expectations in the cause of this fanatic race, I turned my back on the old man, and quitted his house.

I was more successful on my next application, being

received into the house of a tradesman, where I found a fire to dry my damp clothes. At Lugo I was detained till the evening of the 8th. During this interval, Sir John Moore arrived with the reserve, and the French cavalry and light troops followed close upon their heels.

I have not been able to learn any accurate particulars respecting the bridge and ravine near Constantine; but have heard that the explosion was not strong enough to effect what was intended. Be that as it may, no affair took place there. Slight skirmishing, indeed, has happened every day since we left Astorga, but nothing more. It is reported that our stragglers and rear-guard have been guilty of great irregularities, and that Sir John Moore has caused a private hussar to be shot at Villa Franca, on * * * *. He was, they say, one of a party of four who were accused of marauding, and the crime having been proved, they drew lots for one to die, in expiation of the offence.

On the evening of the 7th, Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, which had been recalled from Sobrado, on the Vigo road, returned to Lugo, and joined the main body, which had taken up a position about four miles in front of the town, on a line of small hills, with the river Tombago, which passes by Lugo, and is not fordable, covering their right flank.

Drawn by Adam Neale, M.D.

Warren, sculp

THE CITY OF LUGO,

With the position of the British Army, on the 8th of January.

Published June 15. 1809, by Richard Phillips, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London.

Some skirmishing having taken place on the 6th and 7th,* Sir John Moore drew out the whole army on the morning of the 8th, with the intention of giving battle, which at this time appeared to be unavoidable; the prisoners taken on the 7th having declared that Marshal Soult had arrived, with strong reinforcements. Every officer and man seemed happy at the idea of bringing the matter to a speedy issue. I rode out myself to a hill to the left of the town, whence I had an opportunity of seeing the position of the hostile army; and enclosed you will find a rough sketch of the country. The distant smoke marks the two lines.

However, after having waited till the afternoon, and the Marshal still declining the combat, preparations were made for withdrawing. After sun-set, large fires were accordingly kindled to deceive the enemy, who, it appears, did not discover this *ruse de guerre* before morning.

As I quitted Lugo, I took a last look at its mouldering walls, which frowned over the glowing embers of our artillery-waggons. The inhabitants had all fled with whatever

* It appears by the report of some Medical Officers, lately returned from Spain, that the French lost a great number of men during these skirmishes. That of the British was very trifling indeed.

little property they possessed, and the empty streets and desolated houses sent back a thousand echoes to the clatter of our horses' hoofs. My companions proceeded for miles in sad silence. The night was unusually dark. Our pale fires lent, at intervals, a dubious light, as we groped along our melancholy route. After some hours, we arrived at a bridge over a deep branch of the Minho, which a party of the staff corps were preparing to demolish. Two miles from thence, we threw ourselves down on some straw for three or four hours, in an old hovel, the beams and floors of which were so rotten, that it rocked like a cradle in the wind.

On the morning of the 9th, amid a storm of wind, sleet, and rain, more severe than I can recollect ever to have experienced, we proceeded to Guitterez. Our poor soldiers, drenched to the skin, and covered with mud, lengthened out their line of march. As the cold drops beat against me, impelled by the gusts of a south-west wind, I felt as if scalding drops of lead pelted my face. It was with the greatest difficulty I could keep my seat on horseback. Every human being had fled, "the fenceless villages were all forsaken." Our soldiers absolutely lay down and died in the ditches without a struggle. Few women were now to be seen, the greater part had perished, or fallen behind between Villa Franca and Lugo.

At Guittirez I halted for half an hour in the rain, but was so stiff, that, on attempting to remount, I fell down, and could with difficulty get on my legs. Here the troops had some salt beef and rum issued. Not having any fires to cook the beef, much of it was thrown away; but the rum was drunk greedily, and the powers of their stomachs being almost gone, I saw many fall down, after drinking it, in a comatose state. Death, I have no doubt, followed in an hour or two.

On the morning of the 10th I reached Betanzos, completely worn out with fatigue of every kind. The march from Guittirez proved more fatal to our troops than all the former. Hundreds of men and officers came into Betanzos barefooted, their feet swelled and frost-bitten, and the flesh torn and bleeding by the granite and quartz pebbles. The languid stragglers came up constantly during the day. Many of these, five hundred it is said, had been left at the other side of the Minho, when the bridge was blown up. Collecting in a body by the side of the river, they drew up in line, and placing themselves under the command of a serjeant, saluted the advance of the French with a loud cheer and three volleys, when they were forced to surrender.

Ruminating as I went along on the distressing scenes

to which I have been a witness, I fancied the feelings which were likely to arise in the breasts of many of these brave unfortunate men. With a pencil I caught the ideas:

The shadows of night on the mountains fell fast,
The huge chesnuts shook to the hoarse-sounding blast;
Mid rocks the swoln torrents were dashing around,
While the glens and dark caverns re-echo'd each sound.
The trooper benighted, still urg'd on his way,
And deplor'd the deep roads and the short wint'ry day;
Yet still as the sleet fell his dark locks among
He sooth'd his poor charger, and sigh'd while he sung:

"Ill-fated the day when to succour proud Spain,
The transports of Britain set sail o'er the main;
More luckless the hour when approaching its strand,
The cannon's loud roar gave the signal to land.
Regardless of danger we dash'd through the wave,
And at length touch'd that soil which we panted to save;
But more fleet than the hind were their legions in flight,
And extinct was the flame which we came to excite.

Betray'd by the slaves whom we strove to set free,
Indignant we trace back our steps to the sea;
And sinking beneath every horror of war,
Oft seek the lone taper that glimmers afar:
Pale, shiv'ring, and hungry, we knock at the door,
And some food, or a lodging, perhaps we implore;
No! dead are their bosoms to pity's soft tie,
And the poor houseless trooper must lie down and die!

Now harsh be your lot, ye false Patriots of Spain,
Long and much may ye suffer beneath the French chain;

May your children, as conscripts from home torn away,
Starve, and perish like us, to misfortunes a prey;
Then some pangs of regret your stern bosoms may smite,
And the tears of remorse be your portion by night."

He ceas'd.——Far more loud, and more keen blew the blast,
The rain fell in torrents, as onward he past;
Despairing and reckless!—oft through the grim night
The ghosts of his comrades appear'd to his sight.
He rode—but, alas! ere the dawning of morn,
Cold and lifeless the trooper lay under a thorn!——

LETTER LII.

ARMY QUITS BETANZOS.—BRIDGE OVER THE RIO MANDEA DESTROYED. FEELINGS EXCITED BY THE VIEW OF THE OCEAN.—BRIDGE OF BURGO.—SUBURBS OF CORUNNA.—DESCRIPTION OF THAT PORT.—EXPLOSIONS OF THE POWDER MAGAZINES.—ZEAL AND FRIENDSHIP OF THE INHABITANTS OF CORUNNA.—LOSS OF BAGGAGE AND HORSES.—STATE OF PUBLIC OPINIONS.

Corunna, January, 1809.

I SHALL now give you my journal from the morning of the 11th, when the army finally quitted Betanzos.

That town, distant three leagues from Corunna, stands on a peninsula, formed by the junction of two streams. Over one of these, the Rio Mandea, we crossed by a bridge of twelve or fourteen arches. A mine was in readiness to be sprung whenever the troops should have passed, and we had got about a league on this side, near a village called Inas, when we heard the explosion.

The weather was fine, the road good, and the troops got

on with more alacrity ; yet several poor fellows dropped by the way, and it was often necessary to impress them with that sad argument of necessity used by Agib to his friend Secander :

> " Weak as thou art, yet, hapless ! must thou know
> The toils of flight, or some severer woe.
> Still, as I haste, the Tartar shouts behind,
> And shrieks and sorrows load the saddening wind."
>
> COLLINS.

The glow of delight which every individual seemed to feel, as the blue bosom of the distant ocean met the eye, on reaching the top of a hill some miles distant from Corunna, is not to be expressed. Winding along the bending side of a mountain, till we passed the bridge of Burgo, upon which a party was at work preparing a mine, the troops halted, and took up a position on the heights.—The train was then fired, and the centre of the bridge destroyed. On entering the suburbs of Corunna, called St. Lucia, we met the inhabitants flying in all directions, carrying with them the most valuable of their moveables. Admiral De Courcy's ship, and only a few transports, were at anchor in the harbour : the grand fleet had previously gone round to Vigo bay, but had been recalled, and were expected back in a few hours.

Corunna is situated upon an irregular peninsula, the neck of which is occupied by the town, and defended by a

chain of bastions. Upon an angle stands the citadel, forming one horn of a small bay; on the other, called St. Diego's point, is a fortress, and in the centre is a rock, occupied by a building, called the castle of St. Antonio.

The soundings in this inner harbour are from six and seven fathoms to three and a half; and all the works are completely commanded, nearly within musket-shot, by the surrounding heights. To the westward of the town is a small inlet, called Orson's bay, bounded by the two points Misillosa and Orson: on the latter is a lofty light-house—the tower of Hercules. To the southward of the town is a double range of heights, on the lowest and least extensive of which our army is posted.

13th. This morning we were alarmed, while at breakfast, by two tremendous explosions, which shook Corunna to its foundations, broke the panes of the windows, and made the plaster and tiles fall from the roofs and ceilings.

The inhabitants ran out into the streets in the utmost consternation—the females shrieking and tearing their hair, believing for several minutes that some new and unheard-of calamity had befallen the place. On inquiry, this concussion was found to have arisen from the destruc-

tion of two powder-magazines, on the heights of St. Margaret, in front of the right of our position, which were blown up, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

The people here are more friendly to us than the inhabitants of the other cities of Spain which I have seen. Several officers, who were at Cadiz with General Spencer, say they resemble the inhabitants of that city in spirit and enthusiasm. The streets are crowded with persons of both sexes, and of every age and rank, occupied in contributing to the defence of the ramparts, by mounting the guns, and distributing the shot and ammunition. Had we met with half as much zeal and good-will in other parts of Spain, our affairs would have borne a very different aspect. Most of us have lost the whole of our horses, mules, and baggage. For my own part, I have nothing left but the clothes on my back, and am even obliged to the kindness of an acquaintance for a change of linen.

Nearly the whole of the cavalry-horses have been shot on the retreat, owing, as I mentioned before, to their having fallen dead lame, from the want of shoes, and the debility induced from a change of food.

The artillery-horses, having the severest duty to perform, have died in great numbers, while dragging the

guns up the stupendous mountains on this side of Astorga. I cannot inform you of the perpendicular height of these Cordilleras; but you may judge of their altitude, by knowing that from Villa Franca del Bierzo, to the top of the mountain towards Lugo, is a continual ascent of fifteen miles; the western descent is at least eight.

As we have now a little breathing time, while waiting for the arrival of the ships, I shall employ it in acquainting you with the state of opinions here.

Many officers are inclined to blame our Commander-in-Chief for the rapidity with which he has conducted the retreat from Astorga, over a country which, to the most unpractised military eye, appears so admirably calculated for defence, more particularly on this side of Villa Franca. This conduct is defended on the plea of n cessity, as it had become impossible for the Commissariat to procure supplies for the army, more particularly of bread, the country being destitute of corn.

To this reasoning it has been answered, that between Astorga and Lugo the hills are covered with sheep: that we have killed between five and six thousand horses, with many draught bullocks, mules, and asses—all which might have afforded subsistence to the army for several weeks, had Sir John Moore complied with the general sentiment

of the army, and set himself to defend the passes; and this, it is said, he ought at least to have done till the sick, the money, and the baggage, had been withdrawn to the coast. Those again who defend Sir John reply, that it was even possible for the enemy to have detached columns by the roads on the right and left, and to have got to Lugo or Vigo before us. Which of these two modes of reasoning is the soundest, can be determined only by the event. But it is now the decided opinion here, that Sir John will be forced to fight a battle on these heights, as it is thought that the French, with their usual sagacity, will permit him to embark his guns, and probably one-half of his troops, and then attack him.

From their situation, indeed, they have a complete view of the bay, consequently will seize the first favourable moment for the purpose.

I cannot venture to estimate our loss in this retreat. It is as yet a matter of opinion, and is variously calculated from four to six thousand men. At this you cannot be surprised, on reflecting that, since the 24th ultimo, we have marched upwards of three hundred and seventy miles, almost without halting, during the most severe and tempestuous weather.

LETTER LIII.

THE BATTLE AT CORUNNA, AS VIEWED FROM THE OUTER HARBOUR.—SCENE ON THE MORNING OF THE 17TH IN THE INNER HARBOUR.—STATE OF SUSPENSE.—DEATH OF AN OLD ACQUAINTANCE.—SICK OFFICERS.

At Sea, January 19th, 1809.

SINCE I closed my last letter, some of the opinions expressed in it have been confirmed: a severe engagement has taken place on the heights above Corunna; but of the particulars I am as yet ignorant. I shall communicate to you, however, what has come to my knowledge.

A division of the enemy having crossed the river Mero, at a bridge some miles above Burgo, took up a position upon the left of our army. Things were in this state, when, about noon on the 14th, our fleet of transports was descried coming round the western extremity of the bay. During that evening, and the following morning, our sick, artillery, and dragoons commenced embarking.

Drawn by Adam Neale M.D. *Fittler, sculp.*

BATTLE OF CORUNNA.

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The enemy, meantime, having repaired the bridge of Burgo, and brought over his artillery, advanced, and took up a very strong position on the heights of St. Margaret, immediately in front of our line, with his right stretching across the road to Betanzos. On the 15th, and morning of the 16th, there was some skirmishing, and the line was in part turned out. Our embarkation still went on, and it was observed that the enemy had been joined by considerable reinforcements, and was placing his guns on the right and left of his line. I had embarked on the 15th, but went ashore for half an hour on the forenoon of the 16th. Some officers of my acquaintance informed me, that appearances indicated a speedy attack; and about two hours after, returning on board, I observed, with a telescope, that the enemy had posted a strong column on his right. About three o'clock he opened a very heavy fire on our right, which was returned in a slack manner, most of our cannon having previously been embarked. A cannonade was, after some time, commenced on the left of our position, and a fire of musketry followed, which continued with great fury till about six o'clock, when it entirely ceased.

You can have but a faint idea of the anxiety of my fellow-passengers and myself, respecting the event of the action. About seven o'clock the master of the transport

went in his boat alongside one of the agent's ships, and returned with some tidings of so unsatisfactory a nature, that I shall not communicate them to you, as I well know, that before this can reach Devonshire, you will be acquainted with the result of the whole affair.

In the evening I perceived, from the long line of our soldiers fires upon the heights, that we had kept our ground; but about eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th, we were astonished, by observing that the enemy had got possession of the heights above St. Lucia, from which he opened a spirited fire from three pieces of cannon, upon the ships in the inner harbour. Nothing was now to be seen but the most dreadful confusion. The transports slipped their cables, and put to sea instantly; many running foul of each other, and carrying away yards, bowsprits, and rigging. Four or five ships, in attempting to run between the island of St. Antonio and the citadel, ran aground on the rocks, and bilged. A seventy-four gun ship immediately stood in towards the French batteries, and opened her guns upon them.

As our ship quitted the outer harbour, we observed troops embarking from the promontory behind the town, and heard some firing from the westward. Having put to sea, we saw, after it became dark, a considerable body of

light streaming along the horizon, in the direction of the harbour of Corunna, which probably arose from the burning of the transports driven on the rocks.

We are now in the completest state of suspense you can conceive; it having blown so hard during the night of the 17th, that we were driven much to leeward of the rest of the ships. The weather has been extremely bad ever since. There are at present two other ships in company; of these one is a transport from Corunna, and the other hailed us yesterday. We found her to be a store-ship from Gijon, which port she had left some days ago, with an intention of proceeding to Corunna. She is nearly empty, having only a few casks of rum, which, I fancy, she will now carry to England. On board of her is the corpse of our old acquaintance Assiotti, who, as I have just learnt from his servant, died at Gijon, from an illness brought on by excessive fatigue. Poor unfortunate fellow! how extraordinary it is that I should thus casually meet with thy remains, drifting, as it were, on the bosom of the ocean! This rencontre has given rise to much reflection, and increased the depth of that gloom, which my present situation has thrown me into.

I am myself a good deal indisposed, and not much the better for being shut up in a little, noisome, damp cabin,

with six other officers. Four of them are extremely ill, and generally raving all night long. Their complaints are the consequence of over-exertion; and their distempered and horror-struck imaginations are perpetually pursuing some dreadful hallucination connected with the casualties of war, famine, and shipwreck. It was only last night that one of them, in a temporary fit of insanity, hurried me and one or two more upon deck in our shirts, in the rain, by screaming out that the ship had sprung a leak, and was going down. On ascertaining the cause of the alarm, we went below, and found the poor fellow himself crawling, in the utmost distress of mind, to effect his escape from the phantoms of his own bewildered brain. God knows whether we may not experience the reality before long, for one-half of our crew are so ill, as to be unable to get upon deck, and it blows so violent a gale, accompanied with thick weather, that I can write no longer. Farewel.

LETTER LIV.

AN ESCAPE FROM THE DANGERS OF SHIPWRECK.—ACTION OF THE 16TH.—FURTHER PARTICULARS.—OPINIONS OF OFFICERS AT GOSPORT ON THE CELERITY OF THE RETREAT.—UTILITY TO BE DERIVED FROM THE FREE DISCUSSION OF SUCH QUESTIONS.—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HOPE'S ORDERS.

Gosport, January, 1809.

We are, thank God, at length landed in safety in Old England, after weathering some of the severest gales I have ever experienced. The very night we reached the anchorage of St. Helen's it blew a perfect hurricane.

The boatmen who brought us ashore, informed us of the death of Sir John Moore, and the result of the action of the 16th. In the Gazette I observe the details of the action; and from some of my acquaintance here I have learnt a few particulars, not generally known; these I shall now communicate.

The French attacked in their favourite mode, by dense columns. One of these was opposed to the Guards, the fiftieth, and forty-second regiments; and the men forming the head of it being turned by the British bayonets, rushed down the hill, and were met by those of their own comrades, on which they fell in vast numbers, while, during the confusion, our soldiers, getting into the very midst of them, stabbed them at discretion. The rear of the French, ignorant of what was passing in their front, pushed on, and met nearly the same fate.

The artillery which the French made use of during the action, is said to have belonged to the Patriots, and to have been part of that sent from England. We passed it on the road, about two leagues on this side of Villa Franca, and having been seized by the French, it was thus turned against us. As almost all our guns had been embarked, our army had not the advantage of Colonel Shrapnell's shells, which is a circumstance much to be regretted, as their being used would have been of the greatest assistance to us.

The campaign, having now terminated, many of our officers speak very freely of the want of military talent displayed in the retreat, as conducted by Sir John Moore. You cannot expect that I should undertake to put you

in possession of all the arguments used on both sides. I foresee, however, that the rapidity of our marches will hereafter be censured, and that it will be necessary for Sir John's friends to prove the absolute necessity of so much haste, in order to justify his memory from some degree of blame; at least three-fourths, if not four-fifths of the loss which we have sustained is to be attributed to that cause. I have already told you of our situation with regard to provisions. Of *animal* food, you will observe, there was no want; and many officers think, that after having retired to Villa Franca del Bierzo, it was quite impossible for the French to get in our rear, and that a stand ought to have been made at that place. The event has proved that Spain was not to be quitted without an engagement.

The army are unanimous in expressing their satisfaction that one took place, as they conceive that it was necessary to redeem the honour of the country; but even here there is something like a doubt expressed, as to the propriety of the measures adopted by the Commander-in-Chief. You know that there are two hills near Corunna, differing both in height and extent. The larger and higher was occupied by the French on the 15th; on that nearer to Corunna was posted our army. Now it is said that Sir John Moore might have prevented the enemy from occupying the hill,

and erecting his batteries on it, had he brought up the Spanish mortars from the defences of the town, and annoyed him by a smart shower of shells, of which there was an abundance in Corunna. I know not how this assertion can be answered, unless by alleging that our army was not found sufficiently numerous to occupy the great hill, as had, indeed, been at first intended.

All these points will, no doubt, be freely discussed by those who are competent to the task; for nothing can be more absurd than the maxim *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. The discussion, indeed, of the faults and oversights, as well as of the great actions of public men, is of high importance to the welfare of society. The actors themselves, when placed within the narrow limits of the tomb, are, of course, indifferent to the agitation of such questions; but their relations are interested in the preservation of their fame, and will justify it by every means in their power.

As to myself, I possess neither talents nor information for entering upon the consideration of a question purely military. I think that Sir John Moore was not a little unlucky, in having to deal first with a madman in Sweden, and then with a set of irresolute politicians and fanatics in Spain. It was next to impossible that he could escape from the dilemma in which he was placed, without incur-

ring, from one party or other, a certain degree of obloquy. He was placed in a situation, the most awfully responsible that any British General has yet occupied. Commanding a divided force, in the midst of a country to which himself and his whole army were, I may say, entire strangers—in an open plain, surrounded by an enemy amply provided with cavalry—opposed to that man too, who, from his superior fortune and military genius, seems destined and fitted to direct all the nations of the Continent, it was next to impossible that he could gratify the sanguine expectations of his country.

He had, therefore, but a choice of difficulties. Having made his election, he had to encounter the whole power of the enemy, brought against him from various points. He was aware of the promise which Napoleon had made to the Parisians, that "he would present to them the remains of the gaily drest English." He was therefore justified in expecting that every possible exertion would be used by that wonderful man, to fulfil his promise; in attempting which, however, he has fortunately failed.

The question then is narrowed to this point: Was it necessary for our Commander-in-Chief to hurry his army by such severe forced marches, through a country, perhaps the strongest in Europe. If this necessity be proved,

the character of Sir John Moore, distinguished as it already is for manly sense, patriotism, and an uncommon share of military knowledge, will be further ennobled by the recollection, that having been destined to fill the most arduous of all stations, he fell in the arms of victory, after conducting a most difficult retreat, pursued by the conqueror of Europe, and the whole elité of the French army.

P. S. I have enclosed a copy of the General Orders issued by Lieutenant-General Hope, after the action of the 16th:

GENERAL ORDERS.

His Majesty's Ship Audacious, January 18, 1809.

"The irreparable loss that has been sustained by the fall of the Commander of the forces, and the severe wound which has removed Sir David Baird from his station, render it the duty of Lieutenant-General Hope to congratulate the army upon the successful result of the action of the 16th.

"On no occasion has the undaunted valour of British troops ever been more manifest. At the termination of a severe and harassing march, rendered necessary by the superiority of numbers which the enemy had acquired, and which had materially impaired the efficiency of the troops, many disadvantages were to be encountered.

"These have all been surmounted by the troops themselves, and the enemy has been taught, that whatever advantages of position or of numbers he may employ, there is inherent in the British officer and soldier a bravery that knows not how to yield, that no circumstances can appal, and that will insure victory when it is to be obtained by the exertion of any human means.

"The Lieutenant-General has the greatest satisfaction in distinguishing such meritorious services as come within his observation, or have been brought to his knowledge.

"His acknowledgments are in a particular manner due to Major-General Lord William Bentinck, and the brigade under his command, consisting of the fourth, forty-second, and fiftieth regiments, and which sustained the weight of the attack.

"Major-General Manningham, with his brigade, consisting of the Royals, the twenty-sixth, and eighty-first regiments, and Major-General Warde, with the brigade of Guards, will also be pleased to accept his best thanks for their steady and gallant conduct during the action.

"To Major-General Paget, who, by a judicious movement of the reserve, effectually contributed to check the progress of the enemy on the right, and to the first battalion of the fifty-second and ninety-fifth regiments, which were thereby engaged, the greatest praise is justly due.

"That part of Major-General Leith's brigade which were engaged, consisting of the fifty-ninth regiment, under the conduct of the Major-General, also claims marked approbation.

"The enemy not having rendered the attack on the left a serious one, did not afford to the troops stationed in that quarter, the opportunity of displaying that gallantry which must have made him repent the attempt. The pickets and advanced posts, however, of the brigade, under Major-Generals Hill and Leith, and Colonel Catlin Crawford, conducted themselves with determined resolution, and were ably supported by the Officers commanding the brigades, and by the troops of which they are composed.

"It is peculiarly incumbent on the Lieutenant-General to notice the vigorous attack made by the second battalion of the fourteenth regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll, which drove the enemy out of the village on the left, of which he had for a moment possessed himself.

"The exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, Quarter-Master-General, and the other Officers of the General Staff, during the action, were unremitted, and deserve every degree of approbation.

"The illness of Brigadier-General Clinton, Adjutant-General, unfortunately deprived the army of the benefit of his services.

"The Lieutenant-General hopes the loss, in point of numbers, is not so considerable as might have been expected. He laments, however, the fall of the gallant soldiers and valuable officers who have suffered.

"He knows that it is impossible, in any language he can use, to enhance the esteem, or diminish the regret, that the army feels in common with him for its late commander. His career has been unfortunately too limited for his country, but has been sufficient for his own fame. Beloved by the army, honoured by his Sovereign, and respected by his country, he has terminated a life devoted to her service by a glorious death, leaving his name as a memorial, an example, and an incitement to those who shall follow him in the path of honour; and it is from his country alone, that his memory can receive the tribute which is its due."

LETTER LV.

APOLOGY FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE SOLDIERY TOWARDS THE SPANIARDS.—HUMANITY OF BRITISH SOLDIERS EXEMPLIFIED AT THE BATTLE OF VIMIERA.—BRITISH AND FRENCH ARMIES CONTRASTED.—IMPERIAL GEOGRAPHERS.—IGNORANCE OF MINUTE GEOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OFTEN SEVERELY FELT IN CONDUCTING THE OPERATIONS OF ARMIES.—THE FORCE OF OPINION.—CHANGE NECESSARY IN THE ARMY OF AUSTRIA: AND IN THE CONDUCT OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

Gosport, January, 1809.

FEARFUL, from some expressions in your letter of this day, that you have received a false impression of the conduct of the British troops towards the Spaniards, I could wish to lay before you the real state of facts, premising that every possible allowance ought to be made for the irritation of our men's minds, produced by the retreat. Indeed, during the whole campaign, they evinced as much humanity and generosity, as of bravery and heroism.

But reciprocal ignorance of language, and diversity of religious customs and local prejudices, were perpetually interposing to frustrate the endeavours of the officers to

preserve amity between the soldiery and the Spaniards. Besides, as in Gallicia, and the north of Spain, there is more specie than real property, our soldiers were frequently incensed at finding that the offer of a dollar would not induce a peasant to part with a morsel of rusty bacon, a few garlic sausages, or a bit of bread, which often, in fact, were not intrinsically worth one-third of the sum. On arriving of an evening at their villages, after a most fatiguing march—wet to the skin, yet expiring with thirst, these unfeeling mortals often refused, when requested by our men, to run to the adjoining fountain for a pitcher of water, or to procure a few heath-roots to make a fire. Hence frequent bickerings ensued, and sometimes a few blows, which the Spaniards generally deserved. That the breast of the British soldier is incapable of wanton cruelty, and is warmed by the best affections, I could convince you by several anecdotes; but you may judge of his character by the following:

At the battle of Vimiera, our men who belonged to the pickets, and who had fallen down wounded, were passed over by the French in their advance, but were inhumanly stabbed by them in the limbs or trunk afterwards. How did the British behave towards them under the same circumstances? Their first act, on coming up with a wounded Frenchman, was to unsling the canteen from

their shoulders, and pour a portion of its contents into his quivering lips. This happened in innumerable instances. I will then go on and ask, what such men may effect, if properly managed and ably led on?—Do you not recognize in them the real descendants of that handful of brave men who, conducted by a Black Prince, in two succeeding summers chased, from shore to shore of their extensive realm, the forefathers of the myrmidons who are now ravaging and depopulating Europe? Can you have any difficulty in believing that our army might soon, with a little management, be made equal to that of vain-glorious France? It is already equal, and more than equal, in every thing but numbers. Consider the facility with which, upon all occasions, we vanquish the foe—when not absolutely overpowered by numbers.

Our battalion-officers are at present, and have long been esteemed the best in Europe. Our artillery is at length much superior to that of France; and inferior as our commissariat must always be to that of a continental army, yet, with a little attention, it might soon be rendered nearly as effective. As to the French generals of the present day, they are mostly ignorant and uneducated men, and in every respect inferior to the generals of the English army. How then, you will naturally ask, has it happened that they have overrun the greater part of Europe? Partly from

the general corruption of their opponents, and their weak, bigoted policy; but chiefly from the force of opinion, which has done more for them than all other causes. The opinion of every nation, our own alone excepted, seems to be, that the French, especially with Bonaparte at their head, are invincible. And I must add that, by the most minute attention to geographical and topographical details, they have acquired a method of combining a series of complicated movements with a degree of mathematical certainty—a thing never before attempted. With each corps d'armee are two or three men, named imperial geographers, who, with the largest and best maps of Europe under their eyes, direct the march of every detachment, and compute the half hours, nay minutes, which will be necessary to effect each movement.

Hence their attacks are characterized by a simultaneous impulse and rapidity which, at first sight, appears astonishing. How much have we not lost from a defect in this species of knowledge. Consider the failure of our first attempt on Seringapatam, and our late march to attack Buenos Ayres.

Nay, during our late retreat in Spain, should it not have been known that it was impossible for the enemy to get between us and the sea by any lateral road on our left,

and that before he could come round our right, he must have beaten and dispersed Generals Crawford and Alten's brigade, and the Marquis de la Romana's army? Sir John Moore, it is presumed, would not have retreated so rapidly through the strongest country in Europe, had it not been from a defect of knowledge such as that of which I speak.

As to the force of opinion, already mentioned, every day shows us more and more its paralysing effects. Let the modern Alexander make but a promise, we already begin to believe it half accomplished. If he should say, "I will crown Berthier at Constantinople, and place my eagles on the minarets of Jerusalem, before the end of August;" immediately half the newspapers of Europe will say, "Alas! its all over with Turkey and Syria!" But it is time to awaken from this sort of lethargy, and make use of common sense.

Let Austria say to her soldiers, "Nobility shall no longer be necessary to qualify my people for becoming officers; fight with courage and energy, for the contest is no longer for me solely, but for your country and yourselves."

Let Spain dismiss her miserable Juntas, and say to

Palafox or Cuesta, "You are invested with plenary powers: call forth all the resources of your country, and drive our invaders across the Pyrennees." These things done, victory would again fly from the eagles of Napoleon, and the baffled armies of Gaul retrace in terror their steps to their native land.

LETTER LVI.

ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL ANSTRUTHER.—SIR JOHN MOORE:—HIS PUBLIC LIFE:—INTERESTING ANECDOTE:—ELEGANT TRIBUTE PAID TO HIS MEMORY BY THE DUKE OF YORK.

Gosport, February 1809.

I HAVE just been favoured, my friend, with your kind letter, and shall endeavour to supply you with such information as I at present possess, on the points you allude to.

As to the illness and death of General Anstruther, the accounts you have heard are far from correct. I first saw him on the evening of the 10th at Betanzos. He was evidently labouring under inflammation of the lungs; but was relieved by losing blood. On visiting him early on the following morning, he was no better, and I was a good deal alarmed to find that he had hardly any recollection of what had passed the preceding evening. He had been advised to travel in a carriage to Corunna. That convey-

ance, however, could not be procured, and he was obliged to ride on horseback—a circumstance which was to be lamented, as the morning was cold, and he was inclined to perspire.

He informed the gentlemen about him, that he had been for twenty-two hours on horseback, during which time he had tasted nothing, except a bit of sea biscuit and a drop of rum; and that at length, quite worn out with fatigue, he had thrown himself down in a field, and slept for about an hour in the rain. To this circumstance he attributed his illness.

On the 11th, after his ride to Corunna, he was much worse. He was again bled, without his symptoms being alleviated. The disease ran its course very speedily, uninterrupted by any of the remedies employed. The delirium, apparent almost from the first attack, speedily increased, and on the night of the 14th he was no more. During the interval of morbid aberration of mind, he showed the ruling passions strong in death. He often talked of the military positions along the coast of the Asturias and Montana. At intervals, he spoke to his friends, whom he knew and named.—In common with the rest of the army, I deplore his death.—He was by all allowed to be an excellent officer, and a worthy upright man.

Of the life of our late lamented Commander-in-Chief, I can send you but an imperfect account.

He was, as you perhaps know, a son of Dr. Moore, the physician and admired author. He accompanied his father during his tour through Europe with the late Duke of Hamilton. Between that nobleman and the General there existed the warmest friendship, which the death of the former alone dissolved.

Mr. Moore having chosen the profession of arms, rose rapidly through the subordinate steps: and after distinguishing himself particularly at the siege of Calvi, in Corsica, (June, 1792), he accompanied Sir Ralph Abercromby to Barbadoes, in 1796. Here he obtained the rank of Brigadier-General; and, together with his friend Brigadier-General Hope, reduced the island of St. Lucie, on the 25th May, in the same year.

On the conclusion of Sir Ralph Abercromby's campaign in the West Indies, he returned with that General to Europe. Possessing the friendship and confidence of Sir Ralph, he accompanied him, first to the Helder, and afterwards to Egypt, in both which campaigns he was wounded.

On returning to England, his Majesty conferred on him

the order of the Bath, as an honourable recompense for his important services, and he was appointed to command at Shorncliff, in Kent. He was next, unfortunately, selected to command the army sent to assist Sweden, the circumstances attending which are still veiled in mystery.

A friend of mine, who was near Sir John Moore when he fell, tells me, that Major * * * * immediately ran up to him with a blanket, which he had procured from a soldier of the forty-second, to carry him off the field. On requesting the General's leave to unbuckle his sword, lest its weight should be painful to him, he replied, with a faint smile—" No, my dear Sir, I cannot consent to that, there is room enough in the blanket for me and my sword: suffer it to remain, if you please!"

I shall subjoin to this letter, a copy of General Orders which have just been issued; they convey a very elegant tribute to the memory of our late Commander-in-Chief:

GENERAL ORDERS.

" The benefits derived to our army from the example of a distinguished Commander, do not terminate at his death; his virtues live in the recollection of his associates, and his fame remains the strongest incentive to great and glorious actions.

" In this view, the Commander-in-Chief, amidst the deep and universal regret which the death of Lieutenant-General Sir John

Moore has occasioned, recalls to the troops the military career of that illustrious Officer for their instruction and imitation.

"Sir John Moore, from his youth, embraced the profession with the feelings and sentiments of a soldier; he felt, that a perfect knowledge, and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer, are the best foundations for subsequent military fame; and his ardent mind, while it looked forward to those brilliant achievements for which it was formed, applied itself, with energy and exemplary assiduity, to the duties of that station.

"In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others.

"Having risen to command, he signalized his name in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt. The unremitting attention with which he devoted himself to the duties of every branch of his profession, obtained him the confidence of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and he became the companion in arms of that illustrious officer, who fell at the head of his victorious troops, in an action which maintained our national superiority over the arms of France.

"Thus Sir John Moore at an early period obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station, in which he gloriously terminated his useful and honourable life.

"In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise; it exhibits, however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the service, that the Commander-in-Chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation.

"The life of Sir John Moore was spent among the troops.

"During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him the post of honour, and by his undaunted spirit, and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.

"His country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory; and the Commander-in-Chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame, by thus holding him forth as an example to the army.

"By order of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief.

"HARRY CALVERT,
"Adjutant-General.

"*Horse-Guards, February 1st*, 1809."

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Charles Stewart to Major-General Spencer.

[By Mr. Adair.]

Downing-Street, 26th June, 1808.

SIR,

I HAVE Lord Castlereagh's directions to enclose, for your information, copies of communications that have been received from the Representatives of the principality of Asturias by his Majesty's Government, together with the answer that has been transmitted by his Majesty's command.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART.

To Major-General Spencer, &c. &c. &c.

(Enclosure.)

TRANSLATION.

MAGNANIMOUS MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAIN,

THE principality of Asturias united in the General Assembly of Representatives, in whom, from the particular circumstances which will be laid before your Majesty, the entire sovereignty is now placed, abhorring the thoughts of falling into slavery under a conqueror who seeks to extend

his dominion by perfidy rather than by valour or justice, and animated with grief at seeing their unfortunate King, Ferdinand the Seventh, with the rest of the Royal Family, in the chains of a tyrant, the violator of all justice, have this day openly taken arms in their defence to recover the monarchy, although they cannot recover the persons of their sovereigns.

The determination, Sire, is a great one, but the spirit and justice with which this nation has undertaken it, are no less so, as well as the confidence which it entertains in the favor and assistance of this generous nation and its august Sovereign, who will not fail to perceive the dreadful consequences which must result from the unbounded ambition of the French Government, whose power, excessively augmented by the possession of the monarchy of Spain, would aspire to universal monarchy.

The Principality, therefore, through its Deputies furnished with full powers, presents itself to solicit from your Majesty the succours necessary in their present situation, and with their General in Chief the Marquis of Santa Cruz de Mazzonado, recognized and sworn into his office, they hope that your Majesty will deign to attend to their earnest solicitations.

May the Lord preserve the important life of your Majesty.

Oviedo, 25th May, 1808.

(Signed)

The Representatives of the PRINCIPALITY of ASTURIAS.
The Marquis DE SANTA CRUZ DE MAZZONADO.
The Count MANIL PENALBA.
Don A. FLOREZ ESTADA CABALLERO, Procurador General.

By Order of the General Junta of Asturias,

JUAN AQUILLEZ FLORAL,
Representative and Secretary.

(Enclosure.)

Foreign-Office, 12th June, 1808.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE laid before the King my master the letter which you were commissioned to convey to his Majesty from the General Junta of the Principality of Asturias, and the powers with which you have been furnished for soliciting in the name of that body his Majesty's assistance.

I am commanded by the King to assure you, that his Majesty sees with the most lively interest the loyal and brave determination of the Principality of Asturias, to maintain against the unprincipled usurpation of France, a struggle for the restoration and independence of the Spanish monarchy, and that his Majesty is disposed to afford every assistance and support to an effort so magnanimous and praise-worthy.

In pursuance of this disposition, his Majesty has directed such articles of military supply as have been described to be most immediately necessary, to be shipped without delay for the port of Gijon, and has ordered a British naval force to be detached to the coast of Asturias, sufficient to protect them against any attempt which might be made by France to introduce troops by sea into that country.

Every ulterior effort will be cheerfully made by his Majesty in support of so just a cause. I am commanded by his Majesty to declare to you his Majesty's willingness to extend his support to all such other parts of the Spanish monarchy, as shall shew themselves to be actuated by the same spirit which animates the inhabitants of Asturias; and his earnest desire to renew those ties of friendship which so long subsisted between the two kingdoms, and to direct their joint efforts against that power which has proved itself not less the enemy of Spain than of Great Britain.

I have earnestly to recommend that no time may be lost in apprizing the General Junta of the Asturias of the reception which his Majesty has given to their proposals through you, and I have to inform you that a vessel is in readiness at Portsmouth for the conveyance of any messenger whom you may wish to dispatch with this communication.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

No. II.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Major-General Spencer.

Downing-Street, 28th June, 1808.

SIR,

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters to the 29th inclusive, and I have to signify to you his Majesty's approbation of the measures pursued by you up to that date.

Mr. Adair will put you in possession of the information received by his Majesty's Government relative to the extension of the insurrection in Spain since I last wrote.

I have now to acquaint you, that a corps under the orders of Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley, consisting of about 9000 men, is ordered to proceed from Cork, and to act together with the troops heretofore under your separate command, in such manner as circumstances may point out, in support of the efforts of the Spanish nation.

With a view of facilitating a junction with the corps at present under your command, I have to convey to you the King's pleasure, that in case you should have returned to Gibraltar, you do proceed with your corps again off Cadiz, there to await such orders as you may receive from Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, availing yourself of any opening that circumstances may present in aid of the common cause, previous to his joining you; and I have to desire that you will communicate with Sir Arthur Wellesley in the manner directed in my dispatch of this date to Rear-Admiral Purvis,* of which I enclose you a copy, such information as you may receive, and such opinions as you may be enabled to form as to the practicability of his corps being advantageously employed in that quarter.

I am not aware of the probability of any object having presented itself within the Straits, to which your corps can have been applied. Should, however, such have been the case, his Majesty is pleased to entrust you with a discretion of suspending the execution of these orders, under circumstances which may appear to you sufficiently important to justify the same. I have the honour to be, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

To Major-General Spencer,
&c. &c. &c.

No. III.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Major-General Spencer.

[Enclosed to Sir Charles Cotton.——By Col. Trant, 2d July.]

Downing-Street, 30th June, 1808.

SIR,

REFERRING to my dispatch of the 28th instant, I am to convey to you the King's pleasure, that you do proceed on receipt of this

* Vide Letter to Admiral Purvis, 28th June, 1808.

off the Tagus, there to join the corps under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and to place yourself under his orders.

You will consider yourself, however, as authorized to suspend the execution of this order in case your corps should be engaged on any service more to the southward, which in your judgment it is of importance to his Majesty's interests should not be abandoned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Major-General Spencer,
&c. &c. &c.

No. IV.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B.

[Secret.]

Downing-Street, 30th June, 1808.

SIR,

THE occupation of Spain and Portugal by the troops of France, and the entire usurpation of their respective Governments by that power, has determined his Majesty to direct a corps of his troops as stated in the margin* to be prepared for service, to be employed under your orders in counteracting the designs of the enemy, and in affording the Spanish and Portuguese nations every possible aid in throwing off the yoke of France.

You will receive enclosed the communications† which have been made by

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* 5th Foot	990
9th	833
38th	957
40th	843
60th	936
71st	903
91st	917
95th, 4 Companies	400
R. V. B. 4 Bn.	737
20th Light Dragoons	300
	7816

† Vide Letter to Major-General Spencer, 26th June.

the deputies of the principality of Asturias and the kingdom of Gallicia to his Majesty's Government, together with the reply which his Majesty has directed to be made to their demand of assistance.

I also enclose a statement of the supplies which have been already dispatched to the port of Gijon for the use of the people of Asturias.

As the deputies from the above provinces do not desire the employment of any corps of his Majesty's troops in the quarter of Spain from whence they are immediately delegated, but have rather pressed, as calculated to operate a powerful diversion in their favour, the importance of directing the efforts of the British troops to the expulsion of the enemy from Portugal, that the insurrection against the French may thereby become general throughout that kingdom as well as in Spain, it is therefore deemed expedient that your attention should be immediately directed to that object.

The difficulty of returning to the northward with a fleet of transports at this season of the year, renders it expedient that you should in the first instance proceed with the armament under your orders off Cape Finisterre. You will yourself precede them in a fast sailing frigate to Corunna, where you will have the best means of learning the actual state of things both in Spain and Portugal, and of judging how far the corps under your immediate orders, either separately or reinforced by Major-General Spencer's, can be considered as of sufficient strength to undertake an operation against the Tagus.

If you should be of opinion, from the information you may receive, that the enterprize in question cannot be undertaken without waiting for reinforcements from home, you will communicate confidentially to the Provisional Government of Gallicia, that it is material to the interest of the common cause that your armament should be enabled to take an anchorage to the northward of the Tagus, till it can be supported by a further force from home; and you will make arrangements with them for having permission to proceed with it to Vigo, where it is conceived it can remain with not less security than in the harbour of Ferrol, and from which it can proceed to the southward with more facility than from the latter port.

In case you should go into Vigo, you will send orders to Major-General Spencer to join you at that place, should he have arrived off the Tagus in consequence of the enclosed orders;* and you will also transmit home such information as may enable his Majesty's Ministers to take measures for supporting your corps from hence.

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* Vide Letter to Major-General Spencer, 30th June, 1808.

With a view to the contingency, of your force, together with General Spencer's, being deemed unequal to the operation, an additional corps of 10,000 men has been ordered to prepare for service, and which it is hoped may be ready to proceed in about three weeks from the present time.

I enclose such information as we are in possession of with respect to the enemy's force in Portugal, a considerable proportion of which is said to have been lately moved to Almeida, on the north-eastern frontier. You will no doubt be enabled to obtain more recent information at Corunna, in aid of which Lieutenant-Colonel Browne has been ordered to proceed to Oporto, and to meet you with such intelligence as he can procure off Cape Finisterre.

An Officer of engineers, acquainted with the defences of the Tagus, has also been sent off the Tagus to make observations, and to prepare information for your consideration with respect to the execution of the proposed attack on the Tagus. The result of his enquiries he will be directed to transmit also to the rendezvous off Cape Finisterre, remaining himself off the Tagus till your arrival.

You are authorized to give the most distinct assurances to the Spanish and Portuguese people, that his Majesty in sending a force to their assistance, has no other object in view than to afford them the most unqualified and disinterested support, and in any arrangements that you may be called on to make with either nation in the prosecution of the common cause, you will act with the utmost liberality and confidence, and upon the principle that his Majesty's endeavours are to be directed to aid the people of Spain and Portugal in restoring and maintaining against France the independence and integrity of their respective monarchies.

In the rapid succession in which events must be expected to follow each other, situated as Spain and Portugal now are, much must be left to your judgment and decision on the spot.

His Majesty is graciously pleased to confide to you the fullest discretion to act according to circumstances for the benefit of his service, and you may rely on your measures being favourably interpreted, and receiving the most cordial support.

You will facilitate as much as possible communications between the respective provinces and colonies of Spain, and reconcile by your good offices any differences that may arise between them in the execution of their common purpose.

Should any serious division of sentiment occur with respect to the nature

of the Provisional Government, which is to act during the present interregnum, or with respect to the Prince in whose person the legal authority is considered as vested, by the captivity or abdication of certain members of the Royal Family, you will avoid as far as possible, taking any part in such discussions, without the express authority of your Government.

You will, however, impress upon the minds of persons in authority that, consistently with the effectual assertion of their independence, they cannot possibly acknowledge the King or Prince of Asturias, as at present possessing any authority whatever, or consider any act done by them as valid till they return within the country, and become absolutely free agents;—that they never can be considered free agents so long as they shall be prevailed on to acquiesce in the continuance of French troops either within Spain or Portugal.

The entire and absolute evacuation of the Peninsula by the troops of France being, after what has lately passed, the only security for Spanish independence, and the only basis upon which the Spanish nation should be prevailed on to treat, or to lay down their arms.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

To Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, &c. &c. &c.

No. V.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B.

[Secret.]

Downing-Street, 30th June, 1808.

SIR,

SINCE my instructions to you No. 1. were closed, advices have been received from Sir Charles Cotton off the Tagus, copies of which are enclosed. The intelligence therein contained does not require that I should vary any part of those instructions, except so far as to direct that instead of going yourself to Corunna, you should send a confidential officer to that port to execute that part of your instructions, and to meet you off

Cape Finisterre, or to follow you to the Tagus. You will of course feel it of the most pressing importance that your armament should proceed off the Tagus, *not separating yourself from it*, with the least possible delay. The artillery preparation which was ordered to be in readiness for the 1st July, with a view to another service, had been embarked with six additional ten inch mortars, and will sail from the river to-morrow. It will be directed to proceed immediately off the Tagus. Two additional battalions, at present cantoned in the vicinity of Cork, viz. the 36th and 45th, consisting of about 1200 men, have been ordered to embark, and to join your force, for the reception of which, and to prevent the troops already embarked from being too much crowded, 3000 tons of transports sailed this day from the Downs with a fair wind, as did also the 20th light dragoons from Portsmouth. I consider, therefore, every part of your equipment has been forwarded from hence, and I trust you will find the whole ready to proceed upon your arrival at Cork. But if the two last regiments should not have been actually embarked, you will not delay your departure, but will order them to follow you off the Tagus. 30,000 stand of arms, and an equal number of pikes, have been sent, which you will make such use of as the public service may appear to you to require. A supply of money has also been sent for the use of your troops. Any demands for military stores which you may receive from the provinces which have declared against France, you will send home, and it will be the earnest wish of his Majesty's Government to comply with them as far as circumstances will permit. With respect to money, 200,000*l.* has been ordered to be sent to Ferrol for the immediate use of the Spaniards, till further arrangements can be made. It would much facilitate their financial operations if they could give circulation within Spain to a paper currency secured upon their South American treasures; this, together with a moderate duty upon imports, would furnish them with immediate resources; and in proportion as a currency of the nature alluded to could be thrown into circulation, it would have the effect of attaching the holders to the national cause.

I mention this subject that, in any communication you may have with the persons in authority, you may press it upon their attention.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

To Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley,
&c. &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Charles Cotton to the Honourable W. Wellesley Pole.

[Enclosure.]

[Most Secret.]

Hibernia, off the Tagus, 12th June, 1808.

SIR,

I request you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that from every account I have been able to procure, there is not more than 4000 French troops in Lisbon, from whom the Spaniards are now completely separated, and against whom the populace are highly incensed; so that I feel it a duty to state to their Lordships my opinion, that five or six thousand British troops might effect a landing, gain possession of the forts on the banks of the Tagus, and by co-operating with his Majesty's fleet, give to our possession the whole of the maritime means now collected in the Tagus.

I further beg you will please to state to their Lordships, that having some hope a reinforcement may be on its way to Gibraltar, as stated in the dispatch contained in their Lordships' secret order to me of the 25th ultimo, I have placed the Blossom sloop off the Rock of Lisbon, to look out for the same; and, in the event of falling in with any expedition having troops, directed Captain Pigott to request the commander thereof to repair off the Tagus to confer with me: a measure I am induced to take from the critical state of affairs, and presuming the intelligence correct as stated in my letter to you of yesterday's date, respecting the fleet of Rear-Admiral Purvis being already in Cadiz.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. COTTON.

To the Hon. William Wellesley Pole,
&c. &c. &c.

No. VI.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley.

[By Lord Burgherst.]

Downing-Street, 15th July, 1808.

SIR,

SINCE my dispatches to you of the 30th ultimo, marked Secret, Nos. 1 and 2, the inclosed intelligence has been received from Major-General Spencer, with respect to the state of the enemy's force in Portugal.

The number of French troops, immediately in the vicinity of Lisbon (so far as this information can be relied on), appearing much more considerable than it was before reported to be by Sir Charles Cotton, his Majesty has been pleased to direct a corps of 5000 men, consisting of the regiments stated in the margin,* to be embarked, and to proceed without loss of time to join you off the Tagus.

His Majesty has been further pleased to direct, that the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, which are arrived from the Baltic, so soon as they are refreshed, and their transports can be revictualled, should to also proceed without delay off the Tagus.

---

* Ramsgate.

9th Foot, 2 Bn.	675
43d	861
52d	858
97th	769
Harwich.	
Queen's	813
20th Foot	689
95th, 2d Bn.	180
2 Companies Artillery	200
	5045

The motives which have induced the sending so large a force to that quarter are—

1st. To provide effectually for an attack upon the Tagus; and,

2d. To have such an additional force, disposable, beyond what may be indispensably requisite for that operation, as may admit of a detachment being made to the southward, either with a view to secure Cadiz, if it should be threatened by the French force under General Dupont, or to co-operate with the Spanish troops in reducing that corps, if circumstances should favour such an operation, or any other that may be concerted.

His Majesty is pleased to direct, that the attack upon the Tagus should be considered as the first object to be attended to. As the whole force (of which a statement is inclosed), when assembled, will amount to not less than 30,000 men, it is conceived that both services may be amply provided for: the precise distribution as between Portugal and Andalusia, both as to time and proportion of force, must depend on circumstances, to be judged of on the spot; and should it be deemed adviseable to fulfil the assurance, which Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple appears to have given to the Supreme Junta of Seville, under the authority of my dispach of [illegible], that it was his Majesty's intention to employ a corps of his troops to the amount of 10,000 men, to co-operate with the Spaniards in that quarter; a corps of this magnitude may, I should hope, be detached without prejudice to the main operation against the Tagus; and may be reinforced according to circumstances, after the Tagus has been secured. But if previous to the arrival of the force, under orders from England, Cadiz should be seriously threatened, it must rest with the Senior Officer off the Tagus, at his discretion, to detach, upon receiving a requisition to that effect, such an amount of force as may place this important place out of the reach of immediate danger, even though it should, for the time, suspend operations against the Tagus.

As the force which may be called for on the side of Cadiz can only require a field equipment, the ordnance preparation, which has been sent with a view to the reduction of the Tagus, will remain at that station.

With the exception of the ordnance preparation, sent for the attack of the forts on that river, it has not been deemed necessary to encumber the army, at present, with any larger detail of artillery than what belongs to a field equipment, with a proportion of horses.

Exclusive of the period for which the transports are provided, a due proportion of victuallers will accompany the armament, which, with the sup-

plies which may be expected to be derived from the disposition and resources of the country, it is conceived, will remove all difficulty on this head, so long as the army shall continue to act near the coast.

The great delay and expence that would attend embarking, and sending from hence all those means which would be requisite to render the army completely moveable immediately on its landing, has determined his Majesty's Government to trust, in a great measure, to the resources of the country for these supplies.

There is every reason to believe, from the ardour of the inhabitants, both of Spain and Portugal, that so soon as a British army can establish itself on any part of the coast, not only numbers will be anxious to be armed and arrayed in support of the common cause, but that every species of supply, which the country produces, for subsisting and equipping an army will be procurable. It, therefore, becomes the first object for consideration (if a direct and immediate attack upon the defences of the Tagus cannot in prudence be attempted), on what part of the coast, between Penichè on the north, and St. Ubes on the south of that river, a position can be taken up by the British army, in which its intercourse with the interior may be securely opened, and from whence it may afterwards move against the enemy, endeavouring, if possible, not only to expel him from Lisbon, but to cut off his retreat towards Spain.

A proportion of cavalry, as far as the means of transport exist, will accompany the troops, which can be hereafter increased, according as circumstances shall point out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B.

&c. &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from Major-General Spencer to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

[Enclosure.]

H. M. S. Hibernia, off Lisbon, 24th June, 1808.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that on my arrival here this morning, in the Scout brig of war, having preceded the convoy, I immediately conferred with Sir Charles Cotton, on the present state of affairs in Portugal, and on the advisability of making an attempt on Lisbon, conformably to the Vice-Admiral's suggestion to that effect.

It appears that the Portuguese are all in a ripe state to throw off the French yoke: but it also clearly appears, from the information received from some intelligent Hanoverian deserters and others, which is herewith inclosed, that the French force concentrated at Lisbon and the neighbourhood, is very considerable, and fully capable of resisting a much larger force than could possibly be landed by Sir Charles Cotton and myself.

Considering, therefore, that no reasonable hopes of success can be entertained, from employing the corps under my orders in this quarter; and that his Majesty's Government will look to Spain as the primary and principal scene of action at the present time; I have determined, with the advice and concurrence of the Vice-Admiral, to return instantly to my corps, which I left to follow me, under General Nightingale, but which, I have no doubt, I shall join to-morrow, to the southward of Cape St. Vincent, the northerly winds that have prevailed, having made it impossible for the transports to weather that Cape.

I shall return immediately, with the troops, to Ayamonte, and upon finding the Spanish and Portuguese frontiers secure and quiet, shall proceed on to Cadiz; there to act according to circumstances, and the instructions I may receive.

I have, &c.

(Signed) B. SPENCER,
Major-General.

To the Right Hon. the Viscount Castlereagh,
&c. &c. &c. &c.

[Enclosure.]

STATEMENT.

Force under General Spencer.

Artillery - - - - -	269
Royal Staff Corps - - - -	48
6th Regiment, 1st Battalion - - -	1,020
29th - - - - -	863
32d - - - - -	941
50th - - - - -	1,019
82d - - - - -	991
Carried forward	5,151

	Brought over	5,151

Force under Sir A. Wellesley.

5th Foot, 1 Bat.	990	
9th ——	833	
38th ——	957	
40th ——	843	
60th ——	936	
71st ——	903	
91st ——	917	
95th 4 Companies	400	
Royal Veteran Battalion, 4 Bat.	737	
36th Foot, 1 Bat.	647	
45th	599	
		8,762

Also a detachment of the 20th Light Dragoons, about 300.

Force about to embark from Ramsgate.

9th Foot, 2d Bat.	675	
43d	861	
52d	858	
97th	769	
		3,163

Harwich.

Queen's	913	
20th	689	
95th, 2 Companies	180	
		1,672

Force with Sir John Moore.

ENGLISH.

4th Foot, 1 Bat.	1,006	
28th	1,087	
79th	913	
92d	927	
95th, 2 Companies	300	
		4,233
Carried forward		22,981

	Brought over	22,981
GERMANS.		
3d Light Dragoons	597	
1 Bat. Light Infantry	930	
2d - - - - -	916	
1 Bat. Line - - - -	942	
2d - - - - -	770	
5th - - - - -	779	
7th - - - - -	697	
52d, 1 Bat. - - - -	1,000	
		6,631
To join Force under Sir John Moore.		
18th Light Dragoons - - - -		640
		30,262

To join from Madeira, one Regiment under the command of Major-General Beresford.

TOTAL.	
Infantry - - - - - -	29,025
Cavalry - - - - - -	1,537
20th Light Dragoons - - - -	300
	30,862

317 Artillery included in Infantry Return of Major-General Spencer's Corps.

The other Artillery Returns not received.

[Enclosure.]

French Force in Portugal, as stated by three Hanoverian Deserters.

22d June, 1808.

In Lisbon and the neighbourhood.		
French Infantry.	Total.	
15th Regiment, 2 Battalions - - - -	800	
66th do 1 do - - -	800	
Carried forward	——	1,600

Brought over		1,600
70th Regiment 4 Battalions - - -	3,000	
82d do 2 do - - -	800	
86th do 3 do - - -	2,000	
		5,800

French Cavalry.

3d Regiment, 9th do. } Chasseurs à Cheval - -		2,000

Foreign Infantry.

Hanoverian Legion, 1 Battalion - -	800	
Swiss do do - - -	800	
		1,600

In St. Ubes and the forts on the southern side of the Tagus.

31st Regiment } Chasseurs, mostly Italian }	1 Bat.	800	
32d }	1 do	800	
			1,600

Troops marched to the eastern frontiers of Portugal.

86th, 1 Battalion - - - -	700	
26th, 2 do - - - -	1,000	
		1,700

Foreign Infantry.

Legion de Neiole - - - -	800	
3 Battalions of Swiss - - -	2,400	
		3,200

In some part of Portugal, unknown to the deserters.

47th Regiment, 4 Battalions - - -	3,000
Total	20,500

3d Regiment Spanish Infantry } Disarmed at Lisbon, and in prison on
1 do Cavalry } board the Russian ships.

150 Russians are landed from each ship, and doing duty in Lisbon. Very little French artillery in Portugal.

General Junot, *strengthening* the citadel of Lisbon.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) G. W. TUCKER,
Lieutenant-Colonel.

No. VII.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B.

[Secret.]

Downing Street, 21st July, 1808.

SIR,

IN the event of your deeming it may be advantageous, that the troops now proceeding from England, should be disembarked at any point on the coast of Portugal, north of the Tagus, I am to suggest to you the propriety of your requesting Sir C. Cotton to station one of his cruizers to the northward of the Berlings, with such information as you may deem material to communicate to the senior officer in command of the troops; and I shall intimate to the officers in charge of the troops proceeding from hence, that they should be prepared at that point, to receive an intimation from you of the actual state of things in the Tagus.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, &c. &c. &c.

No. VIII.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B.

Downing Street, 15th July, 1808.

SIR,

I AM to acquaint you, that his Majesty has been pleased to entrust the command of his troops, serving on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, to Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, with Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard, second in command.

The Lieutenant-General has been furnished with copies of your instructions up to the present date, inclusive. These instructions you will be pleased

to carry into execution, with every expedition that circumstances will permit, without awaiting the arrival of the Lieutenant-General. And should you be previously joined by a senior officer, you will, in that case, communicate to him your orders; and afford him every assistance in carrying them into execution.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B.

&c. &c. &c.

No. IX.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard.

[Secret.]

Downing Street, 21st July, 1808.

SIR,

HIS Majesty having been graciously pleased to select you to serve under Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple as second in command of his forces to be employed in Portugal and Spain, I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that you do forthwith embark in one of his Majesty's ships* prepared for your reception at Portsmouth, and proceed off the Tagus.

I enclose for your information and guidance, copies of the instructions which have been given to Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, the execution of which is to devolve upon the senior officer for the time being of the troops assembled off the coast of Portugal.

As it is not probable that Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple can arrive for some time from Gibraltar to take upon himself the command of the troops in person, you will use your endeavours to carry his Majesty's commands without loss of time into effect.

You will observe that the operations of the army are intended to be directed in the first instance to the reduction of the Tagus; and secondly, to the security of Cadiz, and the destruction of the enemy's force in Andalusia. These important objects being accomplished, it is his Majesty's pleasure that the senior officer in command of his troops do act according to cir-

* The Audacious.

cumstances, as the good of his Majesty's service and the advancement of the common cause may appear to him to require, till such time as he receives further instructions from Him for the direction of his conduct; which instructions shall be transmitted without loss of time, so soon as his Majesty's government, from the movements of the French armies, are prepared to decide in what manner the services of the British troops can be best directed for the annoyance of the enemy.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard,
&c. &c. &c.

No. X.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K. B.

Downing Street, 21st July, 1808.

SIR,

SO soon as the troops under your orders are victualled, and in a fit state to proceed to sea, it is his Majesty's pleasure that they do proceed without delay off the Tagus.

Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who is now off that port, if not in possession of it, has been directed to transfer to any senior officer who may arrive, the instructions which he has received, in the execution of which it is his Majesty's command that such senior officer should proceed, as far as circumstances will permit, without loss of time.

Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard is ordered to embark forthwith for the same destination; upon joining him you will place yourself under his orders, in the absence of Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, whom his Majesty has been graciously pleased to nominate to the chief command of his troops serving in Portugal and Spain.

I write this to you in case Sir Harry Burrard should not arrive in time to proceed by the Audacious.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

No. XI.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard.

Downing Street, 2d August, 1809.

SIR,

I ENCLOSE for your information* intelligence received from Lieutenant-Colonel Browne and Captain Trant, of the state of affairs in the North of Portugal.

I have directed Brigadier-General Stewart, with the 18th light dragoons, to call off Oporto for orders, as it is not impossible, if Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley should have landed and taken a position in the interior, that you may wish to support him with cavalry.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard,
&c. &c. &c.

[*Enclosure.*]

Oporto, 22d July, 1808.

SIR,

HEREWITH I enclose for the information of Lord Castlereagh, copies of the reports which I have prepared against the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley, to which I have now only to add that I am established here, and fully in the confidence of the Bishop and his Military Council. Colonel Trant is also well placed at Coimbra, and by daily communications with him, I hope to be able to lay before Sir Arthur much useful information on his arrival.

By various intercepted letters we know that Loison was ordered, if he found Oporto too strong for the force at Almeida, to retire upon Lisbon, which orders he proceeded to execute; upon his arrival at Santarem, he received directions to send his sick and wounded men to Lisbon by water, and with his effective force to join Laborde at Leyria; since which junction, however, the French have made a retrograde movement towards Lisbon,

* 9th July, five inclosures—Ditto, one ditto.

and the Patriots have advanced from Coimbra and take up a position, their right at Soure, centre at Cartano, and left at Miranda de Corvo: this forward movement has given some uneasiness to the Government; for, by Colonel Trant's report, the regular and militia force at Coimbra does not exceed 5000, two-thirds of which only are armed, and an armed peasantry of about 12,000; whereas the united force under Laborde and Loison cannot be less than 8000. By desire of the Bishop, I have this day dispatched a courier to Colonel Trant, urging him to restrain the dangerous imprudence of the Patriots, which may risk the safety of Oporto.

It has been my utmost endeavour to forward every measure which could tend to preserve a footing in the country for the British force, and I have urged with success the necessity of providing depôts of provisions for a large army to be in readiness to be conveyed from hence by water to the point which may be fixed on by Sir Arthur Wellesley.

And I beg that you will assure his Lordship, that the force on its arrival will be received with gratitude by the Government and the people, who will be ready to co-operate in any measures which Sir Arthur may recommend.

Sir Charles Cotton having stationed vessels to look out for Sir Arthur Wellesley, and direct him this way, I hope that he will call here before he proceeds to Lisbon.

I have to apologize for the length of the reports which I have sent to you, requesting you to glean from them such information as may be interesting to Lord Castlereagh, and I beg you will assure his Lordship, that it shall be my study to deserve the confidence he has reposed in me, by devoting myself wholly to the objects of my mission.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

S. BROWN,

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Brigadier-General the Hon Charles Stewart,
&c. &c. &c.

(Enclosure.)

MEMORANDA.

French musket ball cartridges, 1,103,800.

Cartridges for fowling pieces, 751,252.

Powder, paper, and thread to complete six millions of ball cartridges, (including the French cartridges and those for fowling pieces), and a proportion of lead.

One million of flints for muskets.

Light 3-pounders on mountain carriages, 12.

Coehorn howitzers, ditto, 12.

With 400 rounds for guns, and 200 rounds for howitzers.

Ten brass 3-pounders, light, without carriages; but the same quantity of ammunition as above ordered for 3-pounders.

Twelve thousand new pattern swords with belts, as far as they can be furnished.

[Enclosure.]

Figuera, Rio de Mondego, 17th July, 1808.

SIR,

I THINK it my duty to acquaint you, for Lord Castlereagh's information, that having with Captain Préval associated in the mission entrusted to us on the 2d of this month, communicated with Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, off the Tagus, on the 14th, and the Admiral having, under the present state of affairs in this country, recommended me to join the Patriot force collected in the northern provinces, I arrived here in that intention this day. I was further induced to adopt this measure from a persuasion that it is the Admiral's opinion that a disembarkation will take place preferably northward of the Rock of Lisbon; and, in such case, I am aware that my services will be more effectually employed with the Patriots, in endeavouring to influence an active and concerted co-operation with the Lieutenant-General's movements.

Captain Préval remains with the Admiral, for the purpose of communication with Sir Arthur Wellesley on the points suggested in our instructions, should he reach the Tagus, which I have reason to suppose will not be the case, at least if fallen in with by some of the cruizers which have been detached by the Admiral, to acquaint him with the commencement of hostilities in this quarter.

I annex a memorandum of the force now assembled at Coimbra, and which may be expected to march from this neighbourhood to meet the attack of the enemy, should they advance from Leyria and Thomar, where 4000 men are now stationed, under General Margarot. A partial affair took place there some days back, in which, as might be expected, the Patriots were compelled to fall back; but you are to observe, that not 1700 are absolutely armed. The enthusiasm of this country is at its height, and, no doubt, will extend to Estremadura, when Sir A. Wellesley makes his appearance; indeed it is a general opinion, that should the resistance of the

French be protracted after that period, a general massacre may be the consequence.

I set off for Coimbra to-morrow, and shall remain there until further orders from Sir A. Wellesley; and, if I receive none, shall attach myself to the exertions of the force now organizing there.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. TRANT.

To the Hon. Brigadier-General Stewart.

[Enclosure.]

Oporto, 9th July, 1808.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to lay before you the report of my proceedings in the execution of his Majesty's commands, communicated to me in Lord Castlereagh's letter (1st July) a copy of which is enclosed, No. 1.

I arrived at Oporto in the Peacock brig, on the 7th instant, and found, from the information given to me by Captain Galway, of his Majesty's ship Antelope, at anchor off the Bar, that the French had been expelled from the town; that the place was in complete possession of the Portuguese, governed and commanded by the Bishop; and that his Majesty's brig Eclipse was moored in the river to protect and cover a bridge of boats, which is the only communication from this town to the southern parts of the kingdom. I lost no time in waiting upon his Excellency, accompanied by Captain Galway, in which interview I received from the Bishop the most satisfactory assurances that the people had taken up arms in defence of their country and religion, and were determined to expel the common enemy from the country. I made known to the Bishop that the object of my mission could not fail to forward the undertaking of the people, and that I was desirous of obtaining the best information of the enemy's force in Portugal, and the positions which it at present occupies.

As, from the nature of the service upon which I am employed, the information communicated to me may daily take a new character, I shall endeavour to lay before you a journal of my proceedings, from which you will be able the more accurately to measure the value of each point of intelligence.

On the morning of the 9th instant Marshal de Campo Bernadin Freire, Governor of Oporto, and Brigadier-General Don Miguel Forgias, waite upon me, by command of his Excellency, to lay before me the whole of

the information in their possession, and from notes taken at the time, and carefully explained by those officers, the information runs thus:—

"That from the latest and best intelligence, the whole of the enemy's force in Portugal may be estimated at 14 or 15,000 men, exclusive of the auxiliary troops, said to have been disbanded by Junot; 5000 have been stationed at Almeida, and the remainder at Lisbon, and in the forts commanding the entrance of the Tagus, and northward to Peniche. On the revolution taking place at Oporto, the force at Almeida made demonstration to occupy this place; but, having been checked by the Patriots at Lamigo, they retired to Almeida. On the 2d July, 4000 men, commanded by General La Borde, marched from Lisbon to Leyria, and 600 men from Peniche to the same place, said to be commanded by Colonel Thomas. On the 5th of July, the force at Almeida, commanded by General Loisson, are said to have marched from that place, leaving behind their heavy baggage, artillery, and 200 men, and to have taken the road to Guarda and Fundao.

At Leyria, the troops from Lisbon are said to have been checked by the Patriots, composed principally of the students of Coimbra, and to have suffered considerable loss. Neither the Bishop or the Generals appeared to have any apprehension that the French force now on foot is destined against Oporto, or that any attempt of that nature would be attended with success.

The Generals laid before me returns of the force organized by the Bishop's authority, for the security of the country, from which it appears, that in the province of Minho, north of Oporto, there is at this time—

At Viana - - -	1,600	
Valency - - -	703	regular infantry.
Artillery - - -	150	
		2,453
And eight regiments of militia, generally without arms		5,245
In Oporto, &c.—		
Two regiments of infantry -	2,229	
Artillery - - -	300	
A Spanish regiment of infantry	255	
		2,784
A regiment of militia, some arms - - -		2,548
Stationed between Vesen, Francosa, and Guarda, and to the north of those places—		
Carried forward		13,030

	Brought forward	13,030
Two regiments of infantry -	2,019	
Five ditto militia - -	3,750	
Not well armed	——— - - -	5,769
In the several districts there are about 1,200 cavalry, about 150 of which are mounted and equipped, and every exertion is making to place the whole upon a respectable footing -		1,200
Force at Coimbra - - - - - -		6,000
	Total force -	25,999

I have endeavoured to procure, for your information, the various proclamations which have been issued by the Patriots (No 2), and I also enclose copies of two letters from the Duc D'Abrantes, which have been intercepted by the Patriots.

10th July, early in the morning, I accompanied the Bishop to all the military staff, to reconnoitre the positions taken on the left bank of the river, to cover the approach from Lisbon. The utmost zeal was apparent in every person; the peasants were working cheerfully upon the defences; the troops are encamped at all the commanding points, which are strengthened by ditches, palisadoes, and abbatis, and artillery appears to be judiciously placed. As yet no news whatever has been received from Coimbra or Leyria since the attack of the students, and the Bishop and his military staff, although they are slow to believe that the enemy will attempt any thing upon Oporto, are yet somewhat alarmed at the idea that so many men of the enemy are on foot, while they remain in total ignorance of their intentions. I have enforced, as far as I am able, the great necessity of preparations being made for resistance in case of an attack, and the advice which I offered with humility, was very graciously received by the Bishop and his Generals, and in many instances it was immediately acted upon.

It appeared to me to be their intention to extend their position to an extent that would require at least 10,000 good troops to defend it, and, consequently, from the narrow means within our power, only parts of the line of defence would be occupied, and numerous practicable intervals be left wholly unguarded. Into this error they had been led by the character of the country, and the numerous positions which follow each other, and render it difficult to know where to stop. I pointed out these errors to the Generals, and received their thanks. A large proportion of the town lies on the left bank of the river, and the streets through which are the only approaches to

the river, in that part are narrow, with high stone houses on either side. I suggested that barriers should be prepared of the common carriages of the city, and kept in readiness with bags of sand to form barricadoes, and close the passage through the town, and persons will be immediately appointed to carry this measure into execution, and fix upon the citizens who are to occupy the houses adjacent to each barrier, to be armed with such fire-arms as it may be in their power to provide.

A letter was intercepted at Coimbra, dated 17th June, wherein Junot directs General Loisson to evacuate Almeida, and retire upon Lisbon as speedily as possible.

The Bishop is, notwithstanding, in considerable alarm, and has requested me to impress upon the mind of Sir Charles Cotton the advantage to be expected from any threat he may be enabled to make upon Lisbon, which may divert the enemy from Oporto, until the force is better organized; and his Excellency having expressed the strongest wish that I should communicate the situation of the country to Sir C. Cotton without delay, I propose sailing this evening for the Tagus, 10th July. In the mean time, I have been assured that the most vigorous exertions shall be made during my absence to narrow the situation and resources of the enemy, by endeavours to force a communication along the coast towards Lisbon, to be kept open with our fleets.

The Bishop has also a gentleman of high consideration, whom he is desirous of sending as Ambassador to England, and his Excellency earnestly solicits that Sir Charles Cotton will be pleased to provide an immediate conveyance for him to England, suited to the importance of the mission.

The Bishop has earnestly entreated my return to Oporto, as the presence of English Officers has given much animation to the spirits of the people, and is very desirous to have some British Artillery and Engineer Officers who speak the language of the country, and will be thankful for any Officers. The English colours are hoisted with the Portuguese, and the appearance of the uniform is a general passport.

All these communications have taken place with the able assistance of Captain Galway, who has not failed to keep alive the interests of England on all occasions.

10th July.—At the moment that I was going on board the Peacock, I received the enclosed information (No. 5), from Senor Picalugo, Secretary to the Bishop, relating to certain French vessels which are said to be destined to remove the church plate from Lisbon to France. The Bishop informed

me that it had long been known to him that it was the intention of Junot to avail himself of any opportunity to send his plunder to France, and Captain Galway also informed me that his intentions were known to Sir Charles Cotton, who has taken measures to intercept the treasure. Under these circumstances, it is scarcely possible for any vessel to effect her escape from the Tagus. I suggest, for your consideration, the possibility that the movement made by the French troops towards Leyria and Coimbra, may be with a view to obtain a point on the coast north of the Tagus, to which the treasure might be removed and shipped for France.

It may be proper to mention that the Bishop had received intelligence that the inhabitants had been disarmed, and no weapons left them but knives and forks; that Junot was taking great precautions to prevent the patriotic flame, which has broken out at Oporto, from spreading to the southward; and that, on his Excellency's part, every measure was in force to propagate the feeling throughout the country; and that he had the best ground to know that the people of Lisbon were only intimidated by French coercion from following the example of Oporto.

On the 8th inst. the Bishop dispatched a schooner to England, soliciting the aid of a British force, arms, and money, and by that opportunity I reported my arrival at Oporto to Lord Castlereagh.

In my communication with the Bishop, I had ventured to assure him that the British Government had anticipated his requisition for assistance, which I expected would be soon at hand on the coast of Portugal; but I have confined myself to that general communication, and carefully avoided every allusion to the destination of the force under your command. The hope of co-operation from a British army has certainly increased the vigour of their measures, and I may confidently assure you, that any line of operation which you may be pleased to point out, will be cheerfully executed under the orders of the Bishop.

I have endeavoured, throughout this report, to confine myself to facts which have come within my own knowledge, and in the statement of the respective forces, have taken the number from the documents upon which the orders of the Bishop have been given, and which were most liberally submitted to my perusal. I feel it proper also to report, that my inquiries have been readily and satisfactorily answered by the Generals, throughout which I have received the most zealous assistance from Ensign Wyndham, of the First Guards, who was permitted by the Commander-in-Chief to accompany me; and I cannot close my report without apologizing for the

length of it, and my inaccuracies, which may have arisen under the circumstances in which I have collected and reported my information, and at the same time expressing my anxious solicitude to merit your approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) S. BROWN,
Lieutenant-Colonel.

To Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

(Enclosure.)

Peacock, off the Tagus, 14th July, 1808.

SIR,

I HAVE this moment communicated with Sir C. Cotton, and do not find that he can add much to the information which I have already obtained, and which I herewith enclose.

I have determined, and with Sir Charles's entire approbation, to return to Oporto, and, to the utmost of my power, endeavour to organize the Patriot army; and hope, by the period of your arrival, that a force will be on foot able to afford some assistance to the British army. I take this opportunity to mention that the Bishop of Oporto expressed a wish that the landing of any British troops might be made to the northward of Lisbon, and, from what I learn here, I conclude you will be disposed to meet his wishes in that respect. I have now only to mention that the Peacock has taken on board 100 marines, which it is proposed to land at Figueira, to support that post, where already 300 marines are stationed. I shall afterwards proceed for the Oporto army, and wait your further commands with much anxiety.

I am, &c. &c.

S. BROWN,
Lieutenant-Colonel.

To Sir Arthur Wellesley, &c. &c.

[Enclosure.]

Au Quartier Général à Lisbonne, le 7 Juin, 1808.

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'IGNORE si la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser à votre Altesse Imperiale, par Almeida, lui est parvenue. Je lui rendais compte du soulevement de Badajoz. Je pense qu'elle aura pris des mé-

sures contre ces revoltés; j'ai envoyé au General Kellermann, à *Elvas*, la brigade qui devoit se porter sur Cadiz. Si votre Altesse a envoyé quelques troupes sur Badajoz, et qu'elles combinent leur mouvement avec le General Kellermann, les revoltés seront bientôt à la raison; mais je ne peux porter qu'un foible secours; les Espagnols qui me restent, m'obligeant de les garder, m'affaiblissent considerablement au lieu de me fortifier; et depuis quelques jours l'escadre Angloise fait toutes les nuits quelques tentatives, qui, bien qu'elles ne m'inquiettent pas beaucoup, m'obligent neanmoins à un service fatiguant et actif pour le peu de troupes que j'ai.

Les troupes de Gallice sont parties *d'Oporto*, elles ont commencées leur mouvement le 4me. Les deux escadrons de *Dragons de la Reine* et de Montera sont de même partis pour la Gallice, comme votre Altesse l'a desiré.

Le General Caraffa a reçu l'ordre de reprendre le commandement de la Province de *l'Estramadure*, et d'y rentrer avec le reste de la cavalerie de sa division; mais cela est-il possible dans ce moment? Je ne le crois pas; il exécutera ces ordres dès qu'il le pourra faire. Vous sentez, Monseigneur, combien ma position va devenir difficile; je prie votre Altesse de vouloir bien y prendre interêt, et si les circonstances devenoient plus critiques pour moi, je compte à l'avance de la continuation de la bienviellance de votre Altesse Imperiale, et sur les secours qu'il dépendrait d'elle de me donner.

De votre Altesse Imperiale et Royale,

Monseigneur,

Le très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

(Signé) LE DUC D'ABRANTES.

[Enclosure.]

Au Quartier Général à Lisbonne, le 7 Juin, 1808.

MONSIEUR LE GENERAL LOISSON,

JE n'ai point encore reçu de vos lettres. Vous devez cependant déjà savoir ce qui se passe du côté de *Ciudad Rodrigo*.—Ecrivez-moi très souvent, même pour me dire qu'il n'y a rein de nouveau.—Si vous pouvez entrer a *Ciudad Rodrigo* sans coup ferir, faites-le.—L'insurrection de Badajoz doit mériter toute votre attention, et vous devez faire tout votre possible pour l'empêcher de se propager de votre côté.—Traitez bien les Portugais, et tachêz de faire rentrer les deserteurs.—Protégez nos courriers autant que possible, et ne les hazardez pas.—Si vous pouvez correspondre avec le Grand Duc de Berg, envoyez lui la lettre ci-jointe.—Vous savez la confiance que j'ai en vous, agissez en consequence, selon que

vous le trouverez plus utile au service de sa Majesté; mais maintenez une sevère discipline;—ne souffrez aucune exaction, et ne permettez pas qu'aucun officier, sous quelque prétexte que se soit se fasse donner une cruzade en Portugal; je serais inflexible contre quiconque se le serait permis, et je rendrais compte immediatement à L'Empereur; mais je compte sur les Officiers de mon armée, et j'espere qu' aucun d'eux ne trompera ma confiance. Votre santé est-elle rétablie?

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer avec une haute consideration.

(Signé) LE DUC D'ABRANTES.

A Monsr. Le General Loisson, Commandt.
la 2de. Div. de l'armée.

[Enclosure.]

Oporto, 21st July, 1808.

SIR,

I NOW resume my report of the 14th instant, to inform you, that after leaving the Tagus, I had opportunities to observe the coast to the northward, and from the heavy surf which falls constantly upon it, even in light winds, there is scarcely a point between the Tagus and Mondego, which can be depended upon for the disembarkation of troops, except Penichè, which is occupied by the enemy.

On the afternoon of the 18th instant, I arrived at Mondego, and immediately waited upon Captain Bligh, of his Majesty's ship Antelope, who commands on shore, and reported the reinforcement, which I had brought with me on board the Peacock. I found the 300 marines, which had been landed, posted at the entrance of the small town of Figueira, situated on the north side of the river, which is a bar harbour, but safe anchorage within, of very easy access for transports, and well suited for the disembarkation of troops.

The river being fordable about six miles above the town, an armed launch from the Alfred is stationed to cover the pass. I received from Capt. Bligh, a general information of the intelligence respecting the force of the enemy, which I had at Oporto; but the troops, under Loisson, are not yet satisfactorily accounted for. The enemy had made a requisition for 15,000 rations at Pombale; had burned the village of Nazareth, and committed great excesses at Leyria; and his advanced posts were pushed within about fifteen miles of Figueira, in which, besides the marines, there is only a regiment of Portuguese militia, and the armed population. I am decidedly of opinion, that if the enemy march against Figueira, with a superior force, the place

cannot be maintained; and Captain Bligh, expecting the attack of the enemy every hour, had removed the reinforcement from the Peacock to the Alfred, and made every preparation for bringing off the troops at Figueira in case of an attack; when it is his intention to blow up a small fort, which commands the entrance of the harbour, but is itself commanded in the rear. Lieutenant-Colonel Trant had left Figueira, a few hours before my arrival, for Coimbra, to ascertain the real state of the country; the Portuguese having determined to make a stand at that place; but although there is very good will in the people, their exertions are so short-lived, and with so little combination, that I do not see any hope of their being able to resist the advance of the enemy, even to Oporto, if that place is really the object of General La Borde.

Captain Bligh acquainted me, that in case he found it necessary to evacuate Figueira, he should retire by sea, with the whole of the marines, to Oporto. It is to be observed, that the force under La Borde marched from Lisbon on the 2d instant, and they were still at Leyria on the 18th; and it therefore becomes a question, whether the object of La Borde is to obtain a supply of provisions for Junot, to penetrate to Oporto, or to interrupt the communication between Lisbon and the northern provinces now in arms.

No. XII.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Brigadier-General the Honourable Charles Stewart.

Downing Street, 4th August, 1808.

SIR,

Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard having been directed to leave orders at Oporto, with respect to the point at which he may deem it expedient that the 18th Light Dragoons should be disembarked, I am to convey to you the King's commands, that you do call off that port for such instructions as the Lieutenant-General may have left for you; and in case you should find that none have been left, you will regulate your movements by such information as you may there receive, with respect to the positions of the British army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Brigadier-General the Hon Charles Stewart,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XIII.

Head Quarters at Villa Verde, Aug. 17, 1808.

MY LORD,

THE French General La Borde having continued in his position at Roleia since my arrival at Caldras on the 15th instant, I determined to attack him in it this morning. Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains, which join the hills forming the valley on the left looking from Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old Moorish fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's piquets had been driven on the 15th, and from that time he had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of his army, which was posted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains on his rear. I have reason to believe that his force consisted of at least 6000 men, of which about 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and there was some reason to believe that General Loisson, who was at Rio Major yesterday, would join General La Borde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly, and the army having broken up from Caldas this morning, was formed into three columns. The right, consisting of 1200 Portuguese infantry, and 50 Portuguese cavalry, destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear. The left, consisting of Major-General Ferguson's, and Brigadier-General Bowes's brigade of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and 20 British and 20 Portuguese cavalry, was destined, under the command of Major-General Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Obidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia. This corps was also destined to watch the motions of General Loisson on the enemy's right, who I had heard had moved from Rio Major towards Aliventie last night. The centre column, consisting of Major-General Hill's, Brigadier-General Nightingale's, Brigadier-General Crawfurd's, and Brigadier-General Fane's bri-

gades, (with the exception of the riflemen detached with Major-General Ferguson) and 400 Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of 9-pounders, and a brigade of 6-pounders, were destined to attack General La Borde's position in the front.

The columns being formed, the troops moved from Obidos about seven o'clock in the morning. Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen were immediately detached into the hills on the left of the valley, to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley, and the enemy's posts were successively driven in. Major-General Hill's brigade, formed in three columns of battalions, moved on the right of the valley, supported by the cavalry, in order to attack the enemy's left; and Brigadier-Generals Nightingale and Crawfurd moved with the artillery along the high road, until at length the former formed in the plain immediately in the enemy's front, supported by the light infantry companies, and the 45th regiment of Brigadier-General Crawfurd's brigade, while the two other regiments of this brigade (the 50th and 91st) and half of the 9-pounders brigade were kept as a reserve in the rear.

Major-General Hill, and Brigadier-General Nightingale advanced upon the enemy's position, and at the same moment Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen were in the hills on his right, the Portuguese infantry in a village upon his left, and Major-General Ferguson's column was descending from the heights into the plain. From this situation the enemy retired by the passes into the mountains, with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity; and notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss on the plain.

It was then necessary to make a disposition to attack the formidable position which he had taken up.

Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen were already in the mountains on his right, and no time was lost in attacking the different passes, as well to support the riflemen, as to defeat the enemy completely.

The Portuguese infantry were ordered to move up a pass on the right of the whole. The light companies of Major Hill's brigade, and the 5th regiment moved up a pass next on the right; and the 29th regiment, supported by the 9th regiment, under Brigadier-General Nightingale, a third pass; and the 45th and 82d regiments passes on the left. These passes were all difficult of access, and some of them were well defended by the

enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 29th and 9th regiments. These regiments attacked with the utmost impetuosity, and reached the enemy before those whose attacks were to be made on their flanks. The defence of the enemy was desperate, and it was in this attack principally that we sustained the loss which we have to lament, particularly of that gallant officer, the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, who distinguished himself upon this occasion. The enemy was, however, driven from all the positions he had taken in the passes of the mountains, and our troops were advanced in the plains on their tops. For a considerable length of time the 29th and 9th regiments alone were advanced to this point, with Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen at a distance on the left, and they were afterwards supported by the 5th regiment, and by the light companies of Major Hill's brigade, which had come upon their right, and by the other troops ordered to ascend the mountains, who came up by degrees.

The enemy here made three most gallant attacks upon the 29th and 9th regiments, supported as I have above stated, with a view to cover the retreat of his defeated army, in all of which he was, however, repulsed, but he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing principally to my want of cavalry; and secondly to the difficulty of bringing up the passes of the mountains with celerity, a sufficient number of troops and of cannon to support those which had first ascended. The loss of the enemy has, however, been very great, and he left three pieces of cannon in our hands.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of the troops throughout this action. The enemy's positions were formidable, and he took them up with his usual ability and celerity, and defended them most gallantly. But I must observe, that although we had such a superiority of numbers employed in the operations of this day, the troops actually engaged in the heat of the action, were, from unavoidable circumstances, only the 5th, 9th, 29th, the riflemen of the 95th and 60th, and the flank companies of Major-General Hill's brigade; being a number by no means equal to that of the enemy. Their conduct, therefore, deserves the highest commendations.

I cannot avoid to take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments for the aid and support I received from all the general and other officers of this army: I am particularly indebted to Major-General Spencer for the advice and assistance I received from him; to Major-General Ferguson, for the manner in which he led the left column; and to Major-General Hill, and Brigadier-Generals Nightingale and Fane, for the manner in which they conducted the different attacks which they led.

I derived most material assistance also from Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker and Lieutenant-Colonel Bathurst in the offices of Deputy Adjutant, and Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and from the officers of the Staff employed under them. I must also mention that I had every reason to be satisfied with the artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel Robe. I have the honour to enclose herewith a Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

To Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XIV.

Head-Quarters at Lourinha, 18th August, 1808.

MY LORD,

SINCE I wrote to you last night I have heard from Brigadier-General Anstruther, that he is on the coast of Penichè with the fleet of victuallers and store-ships, in charge of Captain Bligh of the Alfred, with a part of the force detached from England under Brigadier-General Acland, in consequence of the receipt of orders which I had left at Mondego Bay for General Acland, which he had opened.

I have ordered Brigadier-General Anstruther to land immediately, and I have moved to this place in order to protect his landing and facilitate his junction.

General Loisson joined General La Borde in the course of last night at Torres Vedras, and I understand that both begin their march towards Lisbon this morning: I also hear that General Junot has arrived this day at Torres Vedras, with a small corps from Lisbon, and I conclude that the whole of the French army will be assembled between Torres Vedras and the capital, in the course of a few days.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

To Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XV.

Head-Quarters at Lourinha, 18th August, 1808.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to enclose a return of the killed and wounded, in the affair between the outposts of the 15th instant, reported in my letter to your Lordship of the 16th.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

To Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

[Enclosure.]

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Army under the Command of the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. on the 15th August.

Head Quarters, Caldas, 16th August, 1808.

KILLED.

5th Battalion, 60th Foot—1 rank and file.
2d do. 95th Foot—1 lieutenant.

WOUNDED.

5th Battalion, 60th Foot—5 rank and file.
2d do. 95th Foot—1 captain.

MISSING.

5th Battalion, 60th Foot—17 rank and file.
2d do. 95th Foot—4 rank and file.

TOTAL.

1 Lieutenant, 1 rank and file, killed—1 captain, 5 rank and file, wounded—21 rank and file, missing—29.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

95th Regiment—Lieutenant Bumbury, killed.
Captain, the Hon. H. K. Pakenham, slightly wounded.

(Signed) G. B. TUCKER,
Deputy Adjutant-General.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. on the 17th of August, 1808.

Head Quarters, Lourinha, 18th August, 1808.

KILLED.

General Staff—1 captain.

Royal Artillery—1 captain.

1st Brigade, Major-General Hill.—5th Regiment of Foot—3 rank and file; 9th do.—4 rank and file.

3d Brigade, Brigadier-General Nightingale.—29th Regiment of Foot—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 serjeants, and 31 rank and file; 82d do.—6 rank and file.

5th Brigade, Brigadier-General Craufurd.—45th Regiment of Foot—1 ensign; 50th do.—2 rank and file.

4th Brigade, Brigadier-General Bowes.—32d Regiment of Foot—1 rank and file.

2d Brigade, Major-General Ferguson.—40th Regiment of Foot—1 rank and file; 71st do.—1 rank and file.

6th, or Light, Brigadier-General Fane.—2d Battalion, 95th Regiment—1 serjeant and 6 rank and file; 5th do., 60th do.—8 rank and file.

WOUNDED.

Royal Artillery—1 rank and file.

Royal Engineers—1 captain.

1st Brigade.—5th Regiment—1 major, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, and 39 rank and file; 9th do.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 1 captain, 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, and 49 rank and file; 38th do.—4 rank and file.

3d Brigade.—29th Regiment—1 major, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 6 serjeants, and 105 rank and file; 82d do.—1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, and 17 rank and file.

5th Brigade.—45th Regiment—1 lieutenant and 9 rank and file; 50th do.—1 rank and file.

4th Brigade.—6th Regiment—1 captain and 2 rank and file; 32d do.—3 rank and file.

2d Brigade.—40th Regiment—2 rank and file; 71st do.—1 rank and file.

6th, or Light.—2d Battalion, 95th Regiment—3 serjeants, and 25 rank and file; 5th do., 60th do.—2 lieutenants, 1 staff, 5 serjeants, and 34 rank and file.

Cavalry.—20th Light Dragoons—3 rank and file.

MISSING.

1st Brigade.—9th Regiment—12 rank and file.

3d Brigade.—29th Regiment—1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, and 32 rank and file.

4th Brigade.—6th Regiment—1 rank and file.

6th, or Light.—2d Battalion, 95th Regiment—7 rank and file; 5th do., 60th do.—16 rank and file.

HORSES.

20th Light Dragoons—1 killed and 2 wounded.

TOTAL.

1 Lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, and 63 rank and file, killed—1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 6 captains, 8 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 staff, 20 serjeants, and 295 rank and file, wounded—1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, and 68 rank and file, missing—479.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, ON THE 17TH AUGUST, 1808.

General Staff—Captain K. I. Bradford, 3d regiment foot guards, Deputy Assistant-Adjutant-General, killed.

Royal Artillery—Captain H. Geary, killed.

Royal Engineers—Captain Howard Elphinstone, wounded, badly.

5th Foot—Major Emes, slightly, Lieutenant Doyle, wounded.

9th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, severely, Major Molle, Captain Sankey, Ensign Nichols, wounded.

29th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. G. A. F. Lake, killed; Major G. Way, Thomas Egerton, Captain P. Hodge, A. Patison, Lieutenant R. Birmingham, St. John, W. Lucas, Robert Stannus, wounded; Captain George Tod, William Birmingham, Ambrose Newbold, Thomas Langton, missing.

6th Foot—Captain John Currey, wounded, slightly.

45th Foot—Ensign Dawson, killed; Lieut. Burke, wounded, slightly.

82d Foot—Lieutenant R. Reid, wounded, dangerously.

60th Foot—Lieut. Kiety, Ensign Danus, Adjutant De Gilso, wounded, slightly.

95th Foot—Captain Creagh, Lieutenant Hill, Lieut. Cortman, wounded, slightly.

(Signed) G. B. TUCKER,
Deputy Adjutant-General.

No. XVI.

Head Quarters, Maceira, 21st August, 1808.

MY LORD,

THE report, which I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship, made at my request, by Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, conveys information which cannot but prove highly gratifying to his Majesty.

On my landing this morning, I found that the enemy's attack had already commenced; and I was fortunate enough to reach the field of action in time to witness and approve of every disposition that had been made, and was afterwards made, by Sir Arthur Wellesley: his comprehensive mind furnishing a ready resource in every emergency, and rendering it quite unnecessary to direct any alteration.

I am happy, on this occasion, to bear testimony to the great spirit and good conduct displayed by all the troops composing this gallant army in this well-contested action.

I send this dispatch by Captain Campbell, Aid-de-camp to Sir Arthur Wellesley, no person being better qualified to give your Lordship information.

I have, &c.
HARRY BURRARD,
Lieutenant-General.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

[Enclosure.]

Vimiera, August 21st, 1808.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the enemy attacked us, in our position at Vimiera, this morning.

The village of Vimiera stands in a valley, through which runs the river Maciera; at the back, and to the westward and northward of this village, is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road which leads from Lourinha, and the northward to Vimiera. The greater part of the infantry, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th brigades were posted on this mountain, with eight pieces of artillery, Major-General Hill's brigade being on the right, and Major-General Ferguson's on the left, having one battalion on the heights separated from the mountain. On the eastern and southern side of the town is a mill, which is entirely commanded, particularly on its right, by the mountain to the westward of the town, and commanding all the ground in the neighbourhood to the southward and eastward, on which Brigadier-General Fane was posted with his riflemen, and the 50th regiment, and Brigadier-General Anstruther with his brigade, with half a brigade of six-pounders, and half a brigade of nine-pounders, which had been ordered to the position in the course of last night. The ground over which passes the road from Lourinha, commanded the left of this height, and it had not been occupied, excepting by a picket, as the camp had been taken up only for one night, and there was no water in the neighbourhood of this height.

The cavalry and the reserve of artillery were in the valley, between the hills, on which the infantry stood, both flanking and supporting Brigadier-General Fane's advanced guard.

The enemy first appeared about eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry, on our left, upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; and it was soon obvious that the attack would be made upon our advanced guard, and the left of our position; Major-General Ferguson's brigade was immediately moved across the ravine to the heights on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon; he was followed successively by Brigadier-General Nightingale, with his brigade and three pieces of cannon; Brigadier-General Ackland, and his brigade; and Brigadier-General Bowes, with his brigade. These troops were formed (Major-General Ferguson's brigade in the first line, Brigadier-General Nightingale's in the second, and Brigadier-General Bowes's and Ackland's, in columns, in in the rear) on those heights, with their rear upon the valley which leads into Vimiera; and their left upon the other ravine, which separates these heights from he range which terminates at the landing-place at Maceira. On the last nentioned heights, the Portuguese troops which had been in the bottom

near Vimiera were posted in the first instance, and they were supported by Brigadier-General Craufurd's brigade.

The troops of the advanced guard, on the heights to the southward and eastward of the town, were deemed sufficient for its defence, and Major-General Hill was moved to the centre of the mountain, on which the great body of infantry had been posted, as a support to these troops, and as a reserve to the whole army; in addition to this support, these troops had that of the cavalry in the rear of the right.

The enemy's attack began, in several columns, upon the whole of the troops on this height; on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and checked and driven back only by the bayonets of that corps. The 2d battalion, 43d regiment, was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the church-yard, to prevent them from penetrating into the town. On the right of the position they were repulsed by the bayonets of the 92d regiment, which corps was successfully supported by the 2d battalion, 52d, which, by an advanced column, took the enemy in flank.

Besides this opposition, given to the attack of the enemy on their advanced guard by their own exertions, they were attacked in flank by Brigadier-General Ackland's brigade, in its advance to the position on the heights on the left, and a cannonade was kept up on the flank of the enemy's columns, by the artillery on those heights.

At length, after a most desperate contest, the enemy was driven back in confusion from this attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. He was pursued by a detachment of the 20th light dragoons, but the enemy's cavalry was so much superior in numbers, that this detachment has suffered much, and Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed.

Nearly at the same time, the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; this attack was supported by a large body of cavalry, and was made with the usual impetuosity of the French troops. It was received with steadiness by Major-General Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments, and these corps charged as soon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him, supported by the 82d, one of the corps of Brigadier-General Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, afterwards formed a part of the first line by the 29th regiment, and by Brigadier-Ge-

neral Bowes's and Ackland's brigades: whilst Brigadier-General Craufurd's brigade and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of Major-General Ferguson's brigade six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners and vast numbers killed and wounded.

The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover part of his artillery, by attacking the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. These regiments retired from the low grounds in the valley, to the heights, where they halted, faced about, and fired and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground, and they thus obliged him again to retire, with great loss.

In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of the Duke of Abrantes in person, in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery; and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged, he has sustained a signal defeat, and has lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition-waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition. One general officer (Berniere) has been wounded and taken prisoner, and a great many officers and soldiers have been killed, wounded, and taken.

The valour and discipline of his Majesty's troops have been conspicuous upon this occasion, as you, who witnessed the greatest part of the action, must have observed; but it is a justice to the following corps, to draw your notice to them in a particular manner, viz. the royal artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robe; the 20th light dragoons, which has been commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor; the 50th regiment, commanded by Colonel Walker; the 2d battalion, 95th foot, commanded by Major Travers; the 5th battalion, 60th regiment, commanded by Major Davy; the 2d battalion, 43d, commanded by Major Hull; the 2d battalion, 52d, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Ross; the 79th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Lyon; the 36th regiment, commanded by Colonel Burne; the 40th, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Kemmis; the 71st, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pack; and the 82d regiment, commanded by Major Eyre.

In mentioning Colonel Burne and the 36th regiment upon this occasion, I cannot avoid to add, that the regular and orderly conduct of this corps, throughout this service, and their gallantry and discipline in action, have been conspicuous.

I must take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the General and Staff Officers of the army. I was much indebted to Major-General Spencer's judgment and experience in the decision which I formed in respect to the number of troops allotted to each point of defence, and for his advice and assistance throughout the action. In the position taken up by Major-General Ferguson's brigade, and in its advances upon the enemy, that officer shewed equal bravery and judgment; and much praise is due to Brigadier-General Fane and Brigadier-General Anstruther, for their gallant defence of their position in front of Vimiera; and to Brigadier-General Nightingale, for the manner in which he supported the attack upon the enemy, made by Major-General Ferguson.

Lieutenant-Colonel G. Tucker, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bathurst, and the Officers in the departments of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel Torrens and the Officers of my personal Staff, rendered me the greatest assistance throughout the action.

In have the honour to enclose herewith a Return of the killed, wounded, and missing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have been informed that a French General Officer, supposed to be General Thebault, the Chief of the Staff, has been found dead upon the field of battle. A. W.

Sir Harry Burrard, Lieutenant-General.

(Enclosure.)

Return of Ordnance and Ammunition taken in the Action of the 21st Instant.

One 6-pounder, four 4-pounders, three 2-pounders, six 5½-inch howitzers, 2 ammunition-waggons, 21 Portuguese ammunition-cars, 40 horses, 4 mules.

The above is only the number already arrived in the Park; but, from several accounts, there are eight more taken from the enemy. The ammunition waggons and cars contain a portion of powder, shells and stores of all descriptions, and about 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition.

WM. ROBE, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Commanding Royal Artillery.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, &c. &c. &c.

General Return.

OFFICERS.

4 Killed, 37 wounded, and 2 missing—43.

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND DRUMMERS.

3 Killed, 31 wounded, and 3 missing—37

RANK AND FILE.

128 Killed, 466 wounded, and 46 missing—640.

HORSES.

30 Killed, 12 wounded, and 1 missing—43.

TOTAL.

4 Officers, 3 non-commissioned officers, 128 rank and file, killed—37 officers, 31 non-commissioned officers, and 466 rank and file, wounded—2 officers, 3 non-commissioned officers, and 46 rank and file, missing—720.—Horses killed, wounded and missing, 43.

NAMES OF THE OFFICERS KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, ON THE 31ST OF AUGUST, 1808.

General Staff—Captain Hardinge, 57th regiment, Deputy Assistant Quater-Master-General, wounded.

Royal Engineers—First Lieutenant Wells, missing.

20th Light Dragoons—Lieut.-Colonel Taylor, killed; Captain Eustace, missing.

20th Foot—Lieut. Brook, killed; Lieut. Hogg, wounded.

29th Foot—Brevet Major O'Creagh, wounded.

36th Foot—Capt. Herbert, slightly; Lieut. Hart, ditto; Lieut. Lough, ditto; Lieut. Edwards, ditto; Ensign Bone, ditto; Lieut. and Adjutant Povah, severely wounded.

40th Foot—Capt. Smith, Lieut. Frankly, slightly wounded.

43d Foot—Major Hearn, Capt. Ferguson, Capt. Brock, Capt. Haverfield, Lieut. Madden, Ensign Wilson, wounded.

50th Foot—Capt. O. G. Cooke, killed; Major Charles Hill, Lieut. John Kent, John Wilson, Robert Hay, wounded.

52d Foot—Capt. Ewart, Lieut. Bell, wounded.

60th Foot—Lieut. Charles Kirk, Lewis Rithe, wounded.

71st Foot—Capt. Jones, slightly; M. M'Kenzie, ditto; Lieut. J. D. Pratt, severely; Wm. Hartley, ditto; R. Dudgeon, ditto; A. S. M'Intyre, slightly; Ensign W. Campell, ditto; Acting Adjutant R. M'Alpin, severely wounded.

82d Foot—Lieut. R. Donkin, killed.

95th Foot—Lieut. Pratt, Ensign Wm. Cox, wounded.

97th Foot—Major J. Wilson, Lieut. E. Kettlewell, wounded.

(Signed) G. B. TUCKER,
Deputy Adjutant-General.

No. XVII.

Head Quarters, Cintra, 3d Sept. 1808.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that I landed in Portugal, and took the command of the army on Monday, the 22d of August, the day after the battle of Vimiera, when the enemy sustained a signal defeat; and when the valour and discipline of British troops, and the talents of British officers, were eminently displayed. A few hours after my arrival, General Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from the French General-in-Chief, in order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops; though several articles, at first agreed upon, were signed by Sir Arthur Wellesley and General Kellermann, but as this was done with a reference to the British Admiral, who, when the agreement was communicated to him, objected to the 7th article, which had for its object, the disposal of the Russian fleet in the Tagus, it was finally concluded, that Lieut.-Colonel Murray, Quarter-Master-General to the British army, and General Kellermann, should proceed to the discussion of the remaining articles, and finally to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Portugal, subject to the ratification of the French General-in-Chief, and the British Commanders by sea and land.

After considerable discussion and repeated reference to me, which rendered it necessary for me to avail myself of the limited period latterly pre-

scribed for the suspension of hostilities, in order to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance, the Convention was signed, and the ratifications exchanged on the 30th of last month.

That no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great peril on this dangerous coast, and to insure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which was cut off by the badness of the weather and the surf on the shore, I sent orders to the Buffs and 42d regiment, which were on board the transports with Sir Charles Cotton's fleet, to land and take possession of the forts on the Tagus, whenever the Admiral thought proper to do so. This was accordingly carried into execution yesterday morning, when the forts of Cascaes, St. Julien's, and the Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and taken possession of by ours.

As I landed in Portugal entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which, doubtless, had a great weight in deciding the question, my own opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal, by means of the Convention, the late defeat had induced the French General-in-Chief to solicit, instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally founded on the great importance of time, which the season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed, in the protracted defence of the strong places they occupied, had terms of convention been refused them.

When the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of Sir John Moore had not arrived, and doubts were even entertained whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and dangerous beach; and that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships could be provided for, under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed; during the negotiation the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence of Captain Malcolm, of the Donegal, and the officers and men under his orders; but the possibility of the latter seems to have been at an end nearly at the moment it was no longer necessary.

Captain Dalrymple, 18th dragoons, my military secretary, will have the honour of delivering to your Lordship this dispatch; he is fully informed of whatever has been done under my orders, relative to the service

on which I have been lately employed, and can give any information thereupon that can be required.

I have the honour to be, with sentiments of the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

H. DALRYMPLE, L. G.

To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh,

&c. &c. &c.

[Enclosure.]

Definitive Convention for the Evacaution of Portugal by the French Army.

THE Generals commanding in chief of the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d instant, for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negotiate the same in their names: viz. on the part of the General-in-Chief of the British army, Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, Quarter-Master-General; and, on the part of the French army, Monsieur Kellermann, General of Division, to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a Convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the Admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus. These two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the Articles which follow:—

Article 1. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal, occupied by the French troops, shall be delivered up to the British army, in the state in which they are at the period of the the signature of the present Convention.

Art. 2. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal, with their arms and baggage: they shall not be considered as prisoners of war; and, on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.

Art. 3. The English Government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the ports of France, between Rochefort and l'Orient inclusively.

ART. 4. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenal, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the Convention.

ART. 5. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name of property of the army; that is to say, its military chest, and the carriages attached to the Field-Commissariat and Field-Hospital; or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same on its account, as the Commander-in-Chief may judge it unnecessary to embark. In like manner, all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of all their private property, of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.

ART. 6. The cavalry are to embark their horses, as also the Generals and other Officers of all ranks; it is, however, fully understood, that the means of conveyance for horses, at the disposal of the British Commander-in-Chief, are very limited. Some additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Lisbon.

The number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed six hundred, and the number embarked by the staff shall not exceed two hundred. At all events, every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it which cannot be embarked.

ART. 7. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which will be principally composed of the garrisons of the places, of the cavalry, the artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army. The first division shall embark within seven days from the date of the ratification, or sooner, if possible.

ART. 8. The garrison of Elvas and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmela, will be embarked at Lisbon; that of Almeida, at Oporto, or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by the British Commissaries, charged with providing for their subsistence and accommodation.

ART. 9. All the sick and wounded, who cannot be embarked with the troops, are entrusted to the British army; they are to be taken care of, whilst they remain in this country, at the expence of the British Government, under the condition of the same being reimbursed by France, when the final evacuation is effected. The English Government will provide for

their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about 150 or 200 men at a time. A sufficient number of French medical officers shall be left behind to attend them.

Art. 10. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked it in the harbours specified, or in any other of the ports of France, to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England, without delay; and security against capture, until their arrival in a friendly port.

Art. 11. The French army shall be concentrated in Lisbon, and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and will be so placed as to leave about one league between the two armies.

Art. 12. The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Cascaes, shall be occupied by the British troops, on the ratification of the Convention.

Lisbon and its citadel, together with the forts and batteries, as far as the Lazaretto, or Trafaria, on one side, and fort St. Joseph on the other, inclusively, shall be given up on the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour, and all the armed vessels in it of every description, with their rigging, sails, stores, and ammunition.

The fortresses of Elvas, Almeida, Peniche, and Pamela, shall be given up, as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them; in the mean time the General in Chief of the British army will give notice of the present Convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all further hostilities.

Art. 13. Commissaries shall be named on both sides to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.

Art. 14. Should there arise any doubt as to the meaning of any article, it shall be explained favorably to the French army.

Art. 15. From the date of the ratification of the present Convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French Government, against the subjects of Portugal, or any other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops, in the month of December, 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled; and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.

Art. 16. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance

with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected.

Their property of every kind, moveable and immoveable, shall be respected; and they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal; in either case, their property is guaranteed to them, with the liberty of retaining, or of disposing of it, and passing the sale thereof into France, or any other country, where they may fix their residence: the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose.

It is fully understood, that shipping is excepted from this arrangement; only, however, in so far as regards leaving the port; and that none of the stipulations above-mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial speculations.

ART. 17. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army; and all those who have continued in the exercise of their employments, or who have accepted situations under the French Government, are placed under the protection of the British Commanders; they shall sustain no injury in their persons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient or not to the French Government.

They are also at liberty to avail themselves of the stipulations of the 16th article.

ART. 18. The Spanish troops detained on board of ship, in the port of Lisbon, shall be given up to the General in Chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards, to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain, without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 29th of last May, and the days immediately following.

ART. 19. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal since the commencement of the present hostilities.

ART. 20. Hostages of the rank of field officers shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the present Convention. The officer of the British army shall be restored on the completion of these articles which concern the army; and the officer of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.

ART. 21. It shall be allowed to the General in Chief of the French army

to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present Convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British Admiral, to carry him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.

ART. 22. The British Admiral will be invited to accommodate his Excellency the Commander in Chief and the other principal officers, on board of ships of war.

Done and concluded at Lisbon, this Thirtieth day of August, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight.

(Signed) GEORGE MURRAY, Q. M. G.
Le Gen. Div. KELLERMAN.

Additional Articles to the Convention of the 30th August, 1808.

ART. 1. THE individuals in the civil employments of the army, made prisoners, either by the British troops or by the Portuguese, in any part of Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.

ART. 2. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation, the garrisons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortresses.

The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over in the usual form to the British Government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army, from the above-mentioned periods, until their arrival in France, under the conditions of their being reimbursed by the French Government for the excess of the expence, beyond the estimation to be made by both parties of the value of the magazines delivered. The provisions on board the ships of war, in possession of the French army, will be taken on account by the British Government, in like manner with the magazines of the fortresses.

ART. 3. The General commanding the British troops, will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the capital.

Done and concluded, &c. &c. &c. and signed as before.

(A TRUE COPY.) EDWARD FANSHAWE,
Captain, and A. D. C. in the absence of
the Military Secretary.

[Enclosure.]

Au Quartier-Général de l'Armée Anglaise, le 22de Aout, 1808.

Suspension d'Armes arrêtée entre Monsieur le Chevalier Arthur Wellesley, Lieutenant-Général, et Chevalier de l'Ordre du Bain, d'une part, et Monsieur le Général de Division, Kellerman, Grand Officier de la Legion d'Honneur, Commandeur de l'Ordre de la Couronne de Fer, Grand Croix de l'Ordre du Lion de Bavière, de l'autre part, tous deux chargés des pouvoirs des Généraux respectifs des Armées Françaises et Anglaises.

ART. I. Il y aura à dater de ce jour une suspension d'armes entre les armées de sa Majesté Britannique et de sa Majesté Imperiale et Royale Napoleon I., à l'effet de traiter d'une Convention du Portugal par l'armée Française.

ART. 2. Les Généraux en Chef des deux armées, et Monsieur le Commandant en Chef de la flotte Britannique à l'entrée du Tage, prendront jour pour se réunir dans tel point de la côté qu'ils jugeront convenable pour traiter et conclure la dite Convention.

ART. 3. La rivière de Sirandre formera la ligne de démarcation établie entre les deux armées, Torres Vedras ne sera occupé ni par l'une ni par l'autre.

ART. 4. Monsieur le Général en Chef de l'armée Anglaise s'obligera à comprendre les Portugaises armées dans cette suspension d'armes, et pour eux la ligne de démarcation sera établie de Leria à Thomar.

ART. 5. Il est convenu provisonnellement que l'armée Française ne pourra dans aucun cas être considérée comme prisonnière de guerre, que tous les individus qui la composent seront transportés en France avec armes et baggages, leurs propriétés particulières quelconques, dont il ne pourra leur être rien distrait.

ART. 6. Tout particulier, soit Portugais, soit d'une nation alliée à la France, soit Français, ne pourra être recherché pour sa conduite politique, il sera protégé, ses propriétés respectées, et il aura la liberté de se retirer de Portugal dans un terme fixé avec ce qu'il lui appartient.

ART. 7. La neutralité du port de Lisbonne sera reconnue pour la flotte Russe, c'est à dire, que lorsque l'armée ou la flotte Anglaise seront en possession de la ville et du port, la dite flotte Russe ne pourra être ni inquiétée

pendant son séjour, ni arrêtée quand elle voudra sortir, ni poursuivie lorsqu'elle sera sortie, qu'après les delais fixés par les lois maritimes.

ART. 8. Toute l'artillerie du calibre Français, ainsi que les chevaux de la cavalerie, seront transportés en France.

ART. 9. Cette suspension d'armes ne pourra être rompue qu'on ne se soit prevenu quarant-huit heures d'avance.

Fait et arrêté entre les Généraux designés ci-dessus au mois et au année ci-dessus.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.
Le Gen. de Div. KELLERMAN.

Article Additionnel.

Les garnisons des places occupées par l'armées Française seront comprises dans la presente Convention, si elles n'ont point capitulé avant le 25 du courant.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.
Le Gen. de Div. KELLERMAN.

(A TRUE COPY) (Signed) A. I. DALRYMPLE, Capt.
Military Secretary

No. XVIII.

[With one Enclosure.]

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Major-General Lord William Bentinck.

London, 30th September, 1808.

MY LORD,

AS the dispatches received from Sir Hew Dalrymple leave no room to doubt that this letter will find you at Madrid, I deem it advisable that you should be apprized of the arrangements that are in progress for affording military succours to the Spanish nation. Mr. Frere, who proceeds as Minister to the Central Government in a few days, will be directed to make a formal communication on this subject; but you will in the mean time make such use of the information I send you as you may think fit, to

make the Spaniards feel how eagerly his Majesty desires to contribute to their deliverance.

The amount of the force which it is proposed to employ in Spain will fall very little short of 40,000 men; it is to consist of 30,000 infantry, rank and file, 5000 cavalry, and the necessary proportion of foot and horse-artillery, waggon train, &c. the whole to be assembled under the orders of Sir John Moore, on the borders of Gallicia and Leon, from whence they may operate in the open country as soon as the necessary proportion of horses and mules can be procured to render them moveable; leaving it to the Spanish armies, not having a due proportion of cavalry, to act on their flanks in the mountains. Sir David Baird, with 12,000 men, is ordered immediately to sail for Corunna. Sir John Moore is to move the remainder of the force required to complete the 30,000 infantry from Portugal, either by land or sea, as he may find most convenient, sending the two regiments of cavalry under Brigadier-General Stewart through the interior; the rest of the cavalry will be sent from hence as speedily as circumstances will permit. It would have been more satisfatory, had our army been equipped for service, to have disembarked it at St. Andero, or some other point nearer the enemy; but as it is of equal importance to the Spaniards, as it is to us, that the army should not be partially committed or brought into contact with the enemy, till the means of moving and following up an advantage are secured; and as the navigation on the coast of the Asturias becomes extremely precarious towards the close of the year, it was the decided opinion of all military men, and of none more than the Marquis de la Romana, whose sentiments on this subject are stated in the accompanying memorandum, and will be expressed on his arrival in Spain, as fully approving of the decision that has been taken, to make Corunna our principal depôt, and to operate from thence. To render the northern provinces the more secure whilst our army is assembling, and to co-operate with the other Spanish armies in circumscribing the enemy's positions on the Ebro, the Marquis has determined to proceed with his own corps, amounting nearly to 10,000 men, to St. Andero; and he proposes, on his arrival there, by the incorporation of the armed peasantry of the Asturias and the Montagna, to augment their numbers to at least 20,000 men, which, with the Asturian army and Blake's, will carry the force in that quarter to 60 or 70,000 men, exclusive of the armies operating towards the front and left of the enemy's line. I am not enabled to send you any precise calculation of the number of horses and mules we shall want; the cavalry, artillery, and waggon train will

be provided from hence; the stores and baggage of the army, the commissariat, &c. must be equipped in Spain. I have sent a commissary into the northern provinces, to collect what can be had. Sir David Baird is directed, on his arrival at Corunna, to equip his corps, if possible, from the resources of Gallicia and the north of Portugal. Sir John Moore, when he has arranged the movement of his army from Portugal, will probably superintend the equipment on the spot. I have only, in the mean time, to request you will communicate with those in authority on the best means of rendering this important force serviceable as early as possible, and that you will cause orders to be sent into the provinces of Gallicia, &c. to facilitate the equipment of the army, and insure them a good reception. The Marquis of Romana has written to make his Government perfectly understand the principles upon which our decision has been taken, and to explain to them why they must not expect the British troops to take the field in detached corps.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

P. S. Your Lordship will probably see Mr. Stuart at Madrid, who was sent from the foreign department as a diplomatic agent to Corunna. Under the information received by him that a Central Government was forming at Madrid, he thought it expedient to proceed thither, although not furnished with regular instructions to that purpose. He may have formed such arrangements with the Central Government as it may be material you should be apprized of; and it will be equally necessary that he should be possessed of the objects of your mission, and of my instructions to you, so that he may be the better enabled to further your views, and that counteraction may be avoided.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.
(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Major-General Lord William Bentinck.

Enclosure in Letter to Lord William Bentinck of the 30th September, 1808.

LA Galice et les Asturies, provinces au nord de l'Espagne, sont séparées des autres qui leur sont contigues par des chaînes de montagne d'une telle nature, qu'elles les rendent presqu' inabordables. L'entrée de

la première est défendue par deux rangs de cordillieres éloignées l'une de l'autre d'environ 7 lieues, par un petit pays, nommé El Bierzo, situé sur les confins de la Vieille Castille. La première de ces cordillieres s'appelle le Fontçevadon, et termine à peu de distance d'Astorga, première ville de Castille. La seconde aboutit à Villa Franca del Bierzo, et entre ces deux cordillieres le pas est assez plat; mais ces plaines sont tellement resserrées qu'une armée se trouverait vraiement enfermée, n'ayant issue que la grande route qui mène de Castille en Galice, et qui est tellement rétrécie par les montagnes de droite et de gauche qu'un corps de mille hommes pourrait arrêter une armée de vingt mille. D'après ce donnes, l'avance que l'armée auxiliaire Anglaise devait opérer dans les plaines de Castille, est maître de ses mouvemens sans risque d'être coupée, ayant la retraite assurée sur la grande route qui traverse de Castille en Galice au port de la Corunna. Cette circonstance, la facilité d'entrer dans ce port avec toutes sortes de vents, et dans toutes les saisons, sa proximité aux côtes de l'Angleterre, engagent impérieusement à donner la préférence à ce point sur tout autre pour en faire l'entrepôt general de l'armée Anglaise auxiliaire. Quant aux Asturies les Gunensis ne peuvent pas s'engager dans les défiles de cette province sans s'exposer à être détruits, ne fusse que par les paysans armées. Dans tout cas, l'armée Anglaise flanquée par deux armées Espagnoles, dont l'une agira dans la Biscaye et dans le nord de la Vieille Castille, et l'autre aura sa position dans la Rioja, l'armée Anglaise dis-je, pourra se déployer et faire ses mouvemens sur son front sans le moindre risque d'être enveloppée.

Il y a encore une retraite pour l'armée Anglaise sur Santandre depuis Burgos, dont il n'est éloignée que de 30 lieues, supposant que le Quartier-Général fut établi dans cette dernière ville, la route qui mène de Burgos à Santandre offrant des positions défensives.

D'après cette exposition on peut établir une chaîne de magasins le long de la grande route de Burgos à Corunna, fixant les principaux dépôts et les hôpitaux à Leon et Astorga. De Burgos à Leon il y a 30 lieues; 7 de Leon à Astorga, et 54 de cette dernière place à Corunna.

No. XIX.

Extract of a Letter from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated Madrid, 26th September, 1808.

Madrid, 26th September, 1808.

IN obedience to the orders of Sir Hew Dalrymple, which must have been already known to you, I arrived here the day before yesterday. Finding that the Central Assembly was formed at Aranjuez, I immediately proceeded to that place, and returned last night. I lost no time in waiting upon the President, Count Florida Blanca, to whom I stated the objects of my mission. To the first question which I had to ask, viz. whether the Spanish Government did or did not wish to have the assistance of a British force, the Count at once, and in the strongest terms, expressed the great satisfaction with which such assistance would be received. General Castanos, to whom I had been immediately addressed by Sir Hew Dalrymple, stated exactly the same opinion; and added, that besides the military advantages, the presence of a large British force would insure union in their own councils and operations. They seemed both surprised at the existence of a doubt in regard to the willingness of the Spaniards upon this point. As far as the short time I have been in Spain has allowed me to judge, I should say, that the march of a British army into Spain would give general gratification.

In respect to the plan of co-operation to be proposed by the Spaniards, which formed the second question, Count Florida Blanca said, that he should propose at a meeting of the Council, to which he was then going, that General Castanos should be directed to communicate with me apart, and to concert such arrangements as might be eventually necessary. General Castanos will be in Madrid this evening. I was extremely pleased to find that the opinion of Sir Hew Dalrymple, that the whole British force should be concentrated, had been also that of General Castanos, whose appointment to the chief command, as I am informed, is certain. I took the liberty of expressing to Count Florida Blanca my opinion of the urgent necessity of the nomination of a head to the army, as well as to the state.

The Count assured me that his appointment would immediately take place. I hope, in the course of three or four days, to be enabled to report fully and satisfactorily upon the different subjects contained in my instructions.

(Signed) W. BENTINCK.

The Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XX.

Copy of a Letter from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

[Six Enclosures.]

Madrid, October 2, 1808.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to send herein enclosed copies of my dispatches to Sir Hew Dalrymple.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,
W. BENTINCK,
Major-General.

The Viscount Castlereagh.

Madrid, October 2*d*, 1808.

THE Spanish Government have come to the strange resolution of making the commands separate and independent of each other; you will observe, by a comparison of the strength of these divisions with that of the French army, that each is very inferior in effective force to the French army concentrated before them, and that in consequence the power of immediately uniting and combining these different bodies, according to the movements of the French, to be lodged in some one person, becomes indispensable for the salvation of the whole. I felt the danger of the arrangement so forcibly, of which General Castanos hismself was equally convinced, that I considered it to be a duty imposed upon me by your instructions, to represent the danger, and delivered to Count Florida Blanca a paper, of which the enclosed is a copy. I trust that the sentiments therein expressed will meet your approbation. The non-appointment of General Castanos Commander in Chief is the more extraordinary, as he happens to

be without a competitor, and enjoys, in a very marked degree, the respect both of the Supreme Council, and of the public; it is also much to be desired, inasmuch as his various good and great qualities would insure to the combined operations the utmost harmony. He will go to the army in about a week; I propose to attend him, in order that I may be ready to execute such other instructions respecting the co-operation of the troops as you may be pleased to send me.

(Signed) W. BENTINCK,
Major-General.

Mr. Stuart will inform you of such political information as may be interesting. Colonel Whittingham thinks it unnecessary to trouble you with a repetition of what will be herein contained.

Aranjuez, September 30th, 1808.

IN the conversation which I have had with General Castanos this morning, for the arrangement of a plan of co-operation between the Spanish and English armies, I was led by the anxiety which Sir Hew Dalrymple expressed to me upon the particular subject, to ask General Castanos the determination of the Junta respecting the chief command of their armies. He informed me, that the army was not placed under one head, but divided into separate and independent commands.

The danger of this arrangement, in a military point of view, is so strikingly obvious, that it would be inconsistent with my instructions, impressing the necessity of the most cordial union and co-operation, if I were to suppress the sentiments of regret which I know this intelligence will give rise to in the mind of the British Commander in Chief; I am much mistaken, also, if the same sentiments will not pervade both the Spanish and English nations.

Of the fitness of the different individuals for the commands assigned them, their own conduct has given the best confirmation.

Of their disposition to unite cordially in a general plan, it would not be consistent with the enthusiastic patriotism displayed by every one, to entertain a doubt; the same opinion might be given of the different Provincial Juntas. But where is the man of common sense who hesitates about the necessity of a Supreme Junta, which shall direct all the various and dispersed resources and energies of the state into one centre of union and movement? All the Juntas are willingly sacrificing their own personal

consequence for this important national object; if this is indispensable in the civil government, are not the reasons for a supreme authority in the army infinitely more striking?—If the numbers, discipline, and experience of all those different corps were, each of them, superior to the French army now opposed to them, not much danger would arise from this departure from the practice of all other nations in Europe; but so far from this being the case, I wish most seriously to impress this truth upon the minds of the Central Junta, that the most able distribution and the most hearty co-operation of the whole force will not be more than sufficient for the expulsion of the French, if it should suit their policy to hazard a battle. Let the Spanish troops consider themselves invincible, but let not the Spanish Government be deluded by the same opinion: much has been done; let, however, the causes of past events be carefully analysed; let it be well considered if the circumstances are expressly similar; let the advantages and disadvantages of both armies be justly appreciated, and all things duly weighed; let wisdom determine if one army of 45,000 men, well disciplined and commanded, united in one central position, can be easily conquered by another very much dispersed, not acting under one leader, and superior only in numbers and enthusiasm.

The public opinion expects such an appointment; the same good sense that has universally required a head to the Government, will also require a head to the army; it may be right for the Supreme Council to nominate the commanders of the different corps, but one person upon the spot can alone be entrusted with the disposition of the different parts of the army, according to existing circumstances: the French will not refer their operations to a Spanish council of war, where all the different commanders may quickly agree upon what is best to be done; in war much is uncertain, and the movements of the French will be quick; they can only be met with the same quickness, combination, and union; the propriety of a movement must not be exposed to the delay arising even from an honest difference of opinion; it is frequently necessary to hazard a part to save the whole; the Commander in Chief can alone make the decision, which should be at once obeyed.

(Signed) W. BENTINCK,
Major-General.

Madrid, October 2d, 1808.

SIR,

NOTWITHSTANDING the promise of Count Florida Blanca, that General Castanos should be immediately authorized to communicate with me upon the subject of my mission, it was not till the day before yesterday, and after the delivery of a note by Mr. Stuart, at my request, representing the ill consequence of such delay, that authority was formally granted to General Castanos. The delay had proceeded from the circumstance of the Assembly being scarcely yet formed, and from their not having then obtained the recognition of the Provincial Assemblies; this has since been done, and they have entered upon all the functions of government.

The opinions of General Castanos and of the Spanish Government according entirely with your own, upon the expediency of concentrating the British force, it became only necessary to arrange the march of the army, which General Castanos requested might be settled as should seem best suited for the convenience of the troops. General Castanos, in the first instance, expressed the wish of the Spanish Government, that the corps of 7000 men might be sent immediately to Catalonia; but upon my informing him that all the transports were engaged in the conveyance of the French to France, this plan of reinforcement was given up, and a corps of 10,000 men has been sent from Arragon; you will however perceive, that in the event of any part of the army in the Mediterranean being sent into Spain, it is the wish of the Government that they should be landed in Catalonia. If the main army of the French should be compelled to retire to Bayonne, there will still be left a considerable party of French in Catalonia. It is in this province also that the passes between France and Spain are the most numerous, and the access the most easy.

For the purpose of preventing all mistakes, and of ascertaining exactly the wishes of the Spanish Government, I presented to General Castanos a paper of questions, to which he has given written answers. In those will be found the plan of co-operation proposed for the British force. I must confess to you, that it has appeared to me that the Spaniards have never sufficiently calculated upon the possibility of failure. The enclosed paper will put you in possession of the force and position of the two armies; this feeling has induced me, in the accompanying paper, to suggest a line of march, which, in the event of misfortune, shall allow the British army

easily to unite to receive their reinforcements from England, and, joined with the Gallician and Asturian forces, successfully to resist the French, in case they should march upon the British force, or to attack the flank and rear of the French, in case they should follow the Spaniards towards Madrid; these considerations have led me to urge that no part of the army should march by Madrid, or by any other route which might render the union of the whole difficult. I cannot too strongly impress upon you the anxiety of the Spaniards to receive, as early as possible, the assistance offered to them. Neither must I suppress my decided conviction, from all I have heard, that that assistance is very much wanted by them. From what I can learn of the accommodation in the north of Spain, there seems to be no difficulty in marching both the troops that are in Portugal, and those which may land at Corunna, by small divisions to Burgos. It is said, that there is at easy and regular marches, abundant cover for troops; might it not be right, thus early, to take some measures for the preparation and forage for the cavalry, in case they should be sent there upon this intimation of the wishes of the Spanish Government, and of the urgency of their being sent without further notice?

The Spanish troops are described as full of enthusiasm and contempt of the French, but ill cloathed, and likely to suffer very much from the inclemency of the season; the French are represented, on the other hand, to be very much afraid of the Spaniards; that they have individually very much suffered is certain; they must also have been very much struck with the spirit, courage, and unanimity which they have witnessed from the period of their leaving Madrid; there has been a want of energy and enterprize very uncommon in the French armies. But, notwithstanding these appearances, it is impossible to suppose that an army of 45,000 men still untouched, and ably commanded, will retire before an army so dispersed as is the Spanish army, composed of so few regular troops, under separate leaders. It is possible that the want of subsistence may oblige them to retreat, or that they may be induced to do so by the occupation of the rest of their army elsewhere, from which cause they may be prevented from receiving such reinforcements as might enable them to maintain their position behind the Ebro, without risking their whole army, or, if successful, to follow up their victory. Mr. Stuart being the Civil Agent here, on the part of the King's Government, I have confided my communication with the Spanish Government to the points exclusively military, and have referred all those of a political nature contained in your instructions, and in Lord Castle-

reagh's letter to him. Such subjects are more immediately his province, and from a letter of Mr. Canning's, shewn to me by Mr. Stuart, it seemed to be the wish of Government that all communications with the Junta should go through him alone; I shall send a copy of this letter to Lord Castlereagh.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) W. BENTINCK,
Major-General.

To Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple.

Questions proposed by Lord Wm. Bentinck.	*Answers of General Castanos.*
1. Is it the determination to attack the French before the arrival of the English troops? If so, about what time may this event be likely to take place?	1. The operations of the enemy, and circumstances, must decide whether the attack upon the French will take place before the junction of the English army or not; and, consequently, it is not easy to determine when offensive operations against the common enemy will take place.
2. The future operations of the English must be determined by this event.	2. The future operations of the auxiliary English army must be determined by the then existing circumstances.
3. Upon general principles, does General Castanos think it desirable that the British force should remain concentrated, or that it can be more advantageously employed in being detached into the Asturias, or Catalonia, or elsewhere?	3. General Castanos, speaking on general principles, is of opinion that the British force should remain concentrated, but without losing sight of assisting Catalonia.*
4. If the British force cannot arrive so as to be in time for the attack	4. It is always right in military affairs, to consider the reverses of

* General Castanos recommended, that whatever force could be spared from Sicily should be sent to Catalonia.

about to take place, would it not be well that its march should be arranged with a view to the possibility of misfortune?

5. There are two principal routes into Spain, one along the Tagus direct to Madrid; the other from Almeida towards the north of Spain. I understand that the first divisions of the English army were to march, and probably have marched towards the frontier of Spain, that is, to Almeida. I am not certain but that a part of the army may have moved towards that part of the frontier, in the direction of the Tagus.

6. In the event of the expulsion of the French, and of their not being able to return, it might perhaps be most convenient, for the sake of subsistence, that the army should march in separate divisions, by separate routes, to any point in the north of Spain that might hereafter be determined. But would it not be wise to calculate upon the worst? First, to suppose the possibility of the main army being beaten; and secondly, or, if not beaten, and the French now expelled, that hereafter, that is, in the course even of a short time, the French may return with augmented force, and oblige the Spaniards to retire. It would be right to consider how far this latter supposition as possible. Consequently, it is highly proper that the English army should so regulate its marches, as to become a point of re-union for the troops, if, as General Castanos certainly does not expect, the Spanish army should be defeated.

5. General Castanos is of opinion, that the English army should direct its march through Ciudad, Rodrigo, &c. to Burgos; and this line of march will keep the army in the situation indicated in the preceding article.

6. It is evident, that if the nation were entirely free from alarm on the part of the French, it would be convenient for the auxiliary army, as well as Spain, that the march should be made in small divisions, and by different routes; but, as unfortunately this is not the case, it is absolutely necessary that the English army, at least from a certain point (that is, when it approaches the enemy) should march in large divisions, and follow the same route in order to insure an easy and ready re-union, in case the fortune of war should realize the supposition indicated in General Lord William Bentinck's note.

sition may or may not be practicable?

[*Note.*—In the course of our conversation, General Castanos, in reference to the possible return of the French, said, that he did not consider it practicable, as in a very short time the snow would render the western pass to Bayonne nearly impassible. He mentioned that the passes in Catalonia were numerous, and easy at all seasons.]

In either of these supposed cases, the union of all the British force, at a point from whence they may either fall upon the flank of the enemy, if he attempts to penetrate into Spain, or, from whence it will become impossible for the French to enter Spain without first dispersing the English army, seems a most important object.

7. It must be also observed, that the most important part of the English force (the cavalry) is not arrived; it is of great consequence that this force should immediately come, and be landed at that spot nearest to England, and to the theatre of operations. This point seems to be Corunna.

8. It is necessary that this point of debarkation should be covered, and that the junction of the cavalry and infantry with the British army now here, should be easy and secure.

It seems that this object would be

[*Note.*—This point before marked out.]

7. General Castanos agrees with Lord William Bentinck, that the most proper point of debarkation for the cavalry and infantry expected from England is Corunna, from whence, through good and well-frequented roads, the junction with the main body of the army may be easily effected.

8. There can be no doubt about the necessity of covering the point of debarkation. The present positions of the Spanish armies, and the proposed march of that of his Britannic Majesty, will completely effect this object

effected by the march of the army in the direction of Burgos. According to the position of the French, they might be more or less advanced; their left would be covered by Blake's corps, and united, they would be enabled, it is imagined, to make head against the enemy.

Under this plan of operations, it would seem not desirable that any portion of the army should march by Madrid, much less that any part of it should be detached to Catalonia.

9. If this plan should be approved, it will be necessary that some officer should be sent into the country between the frontiers of Portugal and Burgos, or any other points that may be determined upon for the position of the English army, in order to ascertain the resources of the country, and its capacity to subsist the army.

This officer should be detached immediately, and might be directed to proceed from thence to the head-quarters of Sir Hew Dalrymple, for the purpose of giving the information which may be required.

[*Note.*—As Sir Hew Dalrymple might wish to have, without loss of time, information upon many points which can only be given by a Spanish officer, I have proposed to General Castanos that an intelligent officer should be immediately sent to the British head-quarters, and that other officers should be sent under his directions to examine the road, and as-

as things now stand; but, in case of a reverse of fortune hereafter, this interesting object must never be lost sight of, and the direction of the march must be altered accordingly.

9. The first thing to be done, according to the opinion of General Castanos, is to send officers and commissaries to reconnoitre the route of march which the English army will follow from the frontier of Portugal up to Burgos, and to examine into the means of subsistence which the country affords. The Supreme Government has just instituted a Board of Military Subsistence; from this Board will be issued every necessary order to insure to his Britannic Majesty's forces every thing of which they can stand in need on their march. One of the most intelligent amongst the officers employed to examine the route to be followed by the British army, will be ordered to proceed to the head-quarters of Sir Hew Dalrymple, to communicate to his Excellency every information he may require.

certain the means of subsistence. Their reports will be sent to Almeida, from whence they can be forwarded by General Anstruther, whom I will advise of this arrangement.]

10. Some particular subjects upon which Sir Hew Dalrymple has required information, may be referred to Captain Whittingham, who, with General Castanos' permission, may consult the Quarter-Master-General, and make out the reports wanted.

11. It will be also of great advantage to receive the sentiments of General Castanos upon the points best suited for the formation of magazines, and upon the best mode of forming them, whether by the orders of the Spanish Government addressed to the different Municipalities, or by the direct and sole agency of the English Commissary-General.

This question can be best answered by the practice of the country.

10. Colonel Whittingham will treat with the Quarter-Master-General of the army of Andalusia, upon any points which Sir Hew Dalrymple may point out. The general information and qualities of Colonel Whittingham will facilitate and assist every communication with any individual of the army of Andalusia.

11. As General Castanos is at present without good maps, and the necessary information in detail, he wishes to defer, till the moment of his return to head-quarters, the choice of the most proper points for the establishments of magazines for the use of the British army. The Board of Subsistence will furnish directions as to the best mode of providing them; but General Castanos is of opinion, that the most advantageous way would be by the sole and direct agency of the English Commissary-General; the Spanish Government appointing the proper people to act under him, and to furnish him with the necessary and indispensable information.

[*Note*—This question and answer seem to require explanation. As the difficulty of supplying the army had been apprehended, it occurred to me that it might be better to provide the magazines by the order and requi-

sition of the Government, in which manner the French armies had always been well supplied as long as the Government chose to supply them, than by contracts made with individuals by the Commissary-General.—Commerce has not the same activity in Spain as elsewhere, and the Spaniards are accustomed to such requisitions, and to yield immediate obedience to them.—The formation of a Board of Supply for the Spanish armies by the Central Government seems to afford the most certain and the cheapest mode of providing the English armies in a country to which we are strangers, and in which the people seem to have peculiar habits and feelings. The separate agency of the English Commissary-General would necessarily create a competition in the market, that must enhance the value of all articles. This agency might also very much interfere with the arrangements of the Spanish Board of Supply. The answer of General Castanos is dictated by great caution and delicacy. He wishes that the English Commissary-General should be the active agent, not from thinking it the best mode of supplying the army, because he thinks it impossible for him to proceed without the aid and information of the Board of Supply, but from being anxious that in the event of any failure in the supplies, the blame should not be attributed to the Spa-

nish Government. General Castanos, however, advises that a Commissary should be sent without delay for the purpose of communicating with the Board of Supply. I will procure further information on this subject, and forward it in the course of three or four days to Sir Hew Dalrymple.]

12. Besides magazines, the means of transport will be also wanted, and can they be obtained?

12. The officers employed to reconnoitre the proposed route of march, will be able to furnish a correct report upon the means of transport for the magazines of the auxiliary army, and upon their report will be determined that which may be most convenient for the good service of the army with the least injury to the country.

[*Note*—General Castanos, in conversation, stated that he had no apprehension of the want of provisions, but feared there might be some difficulty in the means of transport. He recommended that whatever Portugal could supply of this sort should be brought with the army. This will be matter of arrangement with the Commissary that may be sent and the Board of Supply.]

Position and Force of the French Army.

The right at Miranda, the left at Milagro:

They have at least - - - -	*40,000 Infantry.
And - - - - -	5,000 Cavalry.
	45,000

* Some say 44,000.

In Catalonia.

At Barcelona, about - - - - - -	7,000
At Perpignan, from 4 to - - - - - -	8,000

Position and Force of the Spanish Army.

Army upon the left, now commanded by General Blake, but to be commanded by the Marquis de la Romana upon his arrival, occupies Bilboa, Frias, Trespaderne, Orduna, and consists of about

	Men.	Guns.
	30,000	- Not known.
Division of the M. de la Romana, when it arrives,	10,000	
	*40,000	

* Of this, as is supposed, about 30,000 Regulars.

Army of the Centre, commanded by General Castanos.

	Men.	Guns.
Army of Andalusia, in the absense of General Castanos, commanded by Lieut.-General Penas, two divisions at Soria, 13,000; two divisions at Madrid and Ocana, one stage from Madrid, 12,000 - - - - - - -	25,000	- 48
Army of Estremadura, on its march from Badajos to Castile, commanded by General Galluzo - - - -	12,000	- 12
Army of Castile, commanded by General Cuesta, at Burgo del Osma - - - - - - - - -	12,000	- 10
The army of Valencia, commanded by General Damas, occupies Barga, Tamzona, and Aguda - - -	16,000	- 24
	*65,000	- 94

* About 40,000 Regulars, of which 5,000 are Cavalry.

The army of Arragon, commanded by General Palafox, occupies Saragossa, and extends as far as Sanguessa -	16,000 Men.
The army of Catalonia, commanded by General Bines, blockades Barcelona, and has a corps advanced towards France - - - - - - - - -	20,000 —

A reinforcement of 10,000 men has already marched from Arragon, and an order has been sent to General Reding, to march with 10,000 men from Granada.

No. XXI.

Extract of a Letter from Major-General Lord William Bentinck to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated Madrid, October 18th, 1808.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter, dated 30th September, brought to me by the messenger, Fisher, on the 16th October. I have great pleasure in perceiving that the arrangements for the co-operation of the British troops, concerted in London with the Marquis de la Romana, entirely agree with those proposed in Madrid.

Mr. Stuart having carried on the communication with the Central Government respecting the refusal of the Junta of Corrunna to allow the disembarkation of the British troops, without orders from Madrid, it belongs to him to state to you what has passed. It seems, however, incumbent upon me to explain, that it is not owing to any neglect of mine, that the necessary orders were not long since dispatched. Upon the appointment of Colonel Lopez to superintend all arrangements connected with the march of the British troops from Portugal into Spain, we went down together to Arenhuez for the purpose of seeing Count Florida Blanca, and of procuring without delay the dispatch of Colonel Lopez, and the transmission of the necessary orders and authority to all Intendants and Officers concerned with the subsistence of the army. And amongst the rest it was proposed to the Count, that as a body of troops might disembark both at Corunna and St. Andero without previous notice, it would be necessary to issue orders to the Juntas there, to provide for the accommodation and maintenance of the troops. The Count promised us that this should be done. On the 14th, I received a letter from Sir John Moore, acquainting me, for the first time, of the intention of sending Sir David Baird's force to Corunna. I sent off immediately to Mr. Stuart, who delivered an official communication of the circumstance to the Central Government. Colonel Lopez, who was in Madrid, wrote also to the same effect. Upon the receipt of your Lordship's

letter, I went down with Mr. Stuart to Arenhuez, to ascertain whether orders had been dispatched to Corunna, never doubting but that they had been already sent. We could not learn positively that they had, but a promise was given that they should. I rather believe that no communication whatever was made, until the receipt of the last intelligence from Corunna. Mr. Stuart can better explain to you than I am able to do the cause of such extraordinary neglect upon a point of so much importance.

I expect every moment the arrival of Mr. Kennedy, the commissary for the arrangement of magazines, &c. for the army.

I have taken the liberty of instructing Captain Roche, who is well acquainted with the language and the north of Spain, to accompany the Spanish officers and commissaries placed under the orders of Colonel Lopez, going to Almeida. His knowledge of the details and wants of the British army, so different from those of the Spaniards, will enable him to give very useful information. I have suggested to Sir John Moore, that Captain Roche, after the execution of this service, may be permitted to return to the Spanish army. His prudent and conciliating conduct has made him acceptable to all the Spanish Authorities with whom he has had to do.

No. XXII.

Copy of a Letter from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated Madrid, 27th October, 1808.

(Three Enclosures.)

Madrid, October 27th, 1808.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE the pleasure of transmitting for your information, the copy of a letter I have this day sent to Sir John Moore, to which I have at present nothing further to add.

I remain, my dear Lord,

Very faithfully your's,

W. BENTINCK.

Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Extract of a Letter from Major-General Lord William Bentinck to Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K. B. dated Madrid, 27th October, 1808.

Aranhuez, 23d October, 1808.

THE English army at present advancing from Lisbon marches through Portugal by three different routes; when they enter Spain the whole must march by one route through Ciudad Rodrigo to Salamanca.

It is understood that the army will march in small detachments, for the greater convenience of the subsistence and accommodation of the troops.

After their arrival at Salamanca, it is probable that the Commander in Chief may wish to form his army into larger divisions of march; as he approaches the possible theatre of operations, the union and concentration of his force will become the more necessary.

The same precaution must be of course adopted with regard to those coming from Corunna.

From the moment that the number of each division or column of march is augmented, the difficulty of procuring subsistence and cover will be also increased.

When the whole army is brought together into a state of as close union as the cover of the troops will admit, it seems impossible to proceed without magazines.

The English Commander in Chief, responsible for the safety of the army, can alone determine where that union shall take place, consistently with security; he is most anxious to adopt any arrangement which shall enable his army to advance with the greatest possible expedition.

The magazines above adverted to, for the subsistence of the troops on their march, need not be large. But for an army of near forty thousand men, and from ten to fifteen thousand horses or mules, the arrangements made for the subsistence of the army on its march in small detachments, through the agency of the Intendants of Provinces, do not seem sufficient; it appears necessary that commissaries should be sent on in advance to provide supplies of bread, meat, straw, barley, &c. requisite for so large a force.

The manner in which the army, when it joins the Spanish armies, shall be supplied with provisions is another consideration. Before any plan can be submitted, either to the Spanish Government, or the British Commander in Chief, further information is required.

By the arrangement concluded with General Castanos, it was proposed, that Burgos should be the point upon which the British army should march; General Castanos not having with him his maps, and not in possession of any very exact knowledge of the roads, deferred, till his arrival with the army, a recommendation of the routes which the British troops should take. Lord William Bentinck does not know that General Castanos may not have written to the Central Government upon the subject. Since that time, however, a British corps has arrived at Corunna, for the march of which a route must also be proposed. Perhaps General Reding may be enabled to point out the most eligible line of march for the English army.

In concerting plans of operations of this nature, it must not be forgotten that the contingencies of war may render necessary other arrangements, as well concerning the route of the army, as its magazines. Such contingencies may be, either the retreat of the French across the Pyrenees, or the entrance of a large French army by Bayonne or Catalonia, or the occupation, by the French, of the countries on the left bank of the Ebro. It would be blind and unpardonable confidence to say, that none of these events can occur. It is not necessary that the apprehension of such events should interfere with the most active employments and co-operation of the British force; but it is indispensable that the possibility of this occurrence should be foreseen, and that the arrangements which will in consequence become requisite, should now be determined upon. For example: supposing any of the above cases to happen, some change in the march of the troops will be made. In conjunctions with what authority must the British Commander in Chief determine upon that change, and upon further operations?—Even should no change in the present circumstances of the Spanish and French armies take place, still, upon the approach of the British to the Spanish armies, its position, with its future operations, must be concerted with some person or other actually upon the spot. But should misfortune happen (and it may happen to-day or to-morrow) a completely new arrangement and disposition, according to the existing circumstances, must be immediately made and acted upon. Under this supposition, who is to communicate with the British Commander in Chief the best mode of forming a junction between the Spanish and English armies? or, in the event of this not being practicable, with whom is the British Commander in Chief to determine the most advisable line of retreat with respect to future operations, and the success of the common cause?

Prudence also requires, that even now magazines should be formed in the

rear upon those roads by which the British army would retreat. Such magazines will be always useful. It cannot be expected that the countries at present occupied, however abundant, can continue to support an army of near 200,000 men without the formation of depôts in the rear, from whence supplies may be brought up.

This information, so necessary for the British Commander in Chief, it is my duty to ask, through General Reding, from the Central Government. I before had the honour of stating to Count Florida Blanca the anxiety felt by Sir Hew Dalrymple respecting the appointment of a Commander in Chief of the Spanish armies, with whom alone it would seem that all the details of military arrangements, which must be settled upon the spot, and do not admit of a reference, can be concerted. I have now also to express that Sir John Moore, the successor of Sir Hew Dalrymple and Commander in Chief of the army about to act in Spain, entertains the same anxiety upon this important subject.

(Signed) W. BENTINCK, Major General.

(Translated Copy.)

Aranhuez, 26th Oct. 1808.

HAVING laid before the Supreme Junta of this kingdom your note dated the 23d of this month, in which you express your wish that the orders of this Government should be given that provisions may not be wanting for the English troops that may unite in Salamanca; that magazines should be established near the place of operations, and on the rear of said army, for the purpose of securing subsistence to the British troops; that the different routes of the army should be determined; that commissaries should be sent in advance; and, finally, that the Spanish General who may be empowered to combine the military operations with Sir John Moore, Commander in Chief of the British force, should be appointed.

The Supreme Government, informed of all these points, orders me to state to your Excellency, that the General in Chief of the British troops may correspond with General Castanos, commanding the Spanish army of the centre, who, combining his own movements with those of the armies of the right and left, will be able, with the greater convenience, to concert the operations of the whole.

That orders have been given to the Minister of Finance concerning provisions, and proper places for the magazines; and that Colonel Lopez, with different officers, being appointed to give assistance to the English troops

coming from Portugal, and the Captain General of Gallicia being equally ordered to provide every thing for those that have disembarked on that coast, nothing appears to remain undone of the points mentioned in your Excellency's letter.

(Signed) ESCANO.

Extract of a Letter from Major General Lord William Bentinck to H. E. Lieut. General Sir John Moore, K. B.

Madrid, 27th Oct. 1808.

I HAD the pleasure of receiving yesterday your letter of the 22d, from Lisbon. Previous to Mr. Kennedy's arrival, I had requested Mr. Stuart to solicit from the Central Government the nomination of some officer or authority with whom I might communicate upon the points referred to General Castanos, in the event of his answer not being satisfactory, as well as regarding the magazines and subsistence of the army. The latter information was particularly required for Mr. Kennedy. After many days delay, General Reding was the officer appointed. The first interview with General Reding was by no means satisfactory. He was not disposed to admit of the possibility of any difficulty being found for the subsistence of the army on its march, or of the necessity of the formation of magazines. During their march in small detachments, he said the troops would be subsisted by the provinces through which they passed, and, after their junction with the Spanish armies, both armies would be served in the same manner. These opinions not exactly coinciding with my own, I thought it better, as other people were present, to return the next morning with a statement in writing of the force and proposed routes of the British army, with such other subjects as required an explicit answer and decision. I accordingly did so, and read to him my paper; but he, in the mean time, having received an order to leave Arenhuez, it was settled that the paper, when translated, should be submitted to Mons. Escano, the Minister of the Marine, who until the arrival of Lieut. General Cornee, dispatches the business of the war department. This paper is marked No. 1. The beginning of it was written with the view of convincing General Reding that it might be necessary to unite the army sooner than he appeared to think necessary, and that, when united, their subsistence could not be trusted to chance, but demanded particular arrangement. In this opinion, when he saw the paper, Mons. Escano also agreed. The most important part of the paper regards the authority with whom you were to concert the march and operations of your army in the

event of a change of circumstances, and upon your nearer approach to the Spanish armies. Under the circumstance of there being no Commander in Chief, the arrangement now made seems the most reasonable, and I trust, will remove all the difficulty and even danger that must have ensued from any other than the most direct and expeditious correspondence and concert between yourself and the military officers actually in command of the principal Spanish army.

A copy of the answer, with the translation, is inclosed, No. 2. Independent of the question of concert, you will observe that orders have been given to the Captain General in Gallicia, to give every assistance to the troops coming from Corunna. It would seem as if Mons. Escano had not exactly understood the first part of my paper, which was introduced by way of explanation, to General Reding. As you appear to consider, as do also the Government, and I know not of any good reason to suppose otherwise, that the arrangements made for the subsistence of the troops upon their march are sufficient, it is unnecessary to do any thing further. I have communicated to Mons. Escano the march of the column through Spain; and I have also, for fear of any mistake, apprized him of the large disembarkation of cavalry that they may soon expect at Corunna. This information will, however, have been already given by Sir David Baird to the Spanish Authority in Gallicia, by whom alone forage, &c. can be provided. With respect to the formation of magazines, after the army shall have united, or have concluded their march, these arrangements with the Spanish Government solely belong to Mr. Kennedy, and he will probably make a report upon this subject to the Commissary General. No. 3, is a letter from Captain Whittingham, in answer to one from me, accompanying my request to General Castanos, that he would supply the information promised, upon his arrival at his head-quarters. I have not yet received General Castanos's reply.

I shall send by a courier, to-morrow, a copy of the answer of Monsieur Escano, respecting the concert of operations, both to General Castanos and Colonel Graham, and I shall beg both the one and the other to act at once according to the full spirit of the resolution.

I am sorry to inform you, that it was believed at Arenheuz that the French had received a reinforcement of 10,000 men.

I shall attend to the directions contained in your letter. We have received accounts of Mr. Frere's arrival at Corunna. I write to General Hope to inform him of my remaining here, by your orders, and of my being ready in consequence to execute any commands he may have for me.

(Signed) W. BENTINCK.

No. XXIII.

Extract of a Letter from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Viscount Castlereagh; dated Madrid, 14th November, 1808.—(One Enclosure.)

AS the reports herewith transmitted are numerous, and a part of their contents not applicable to the present state of affairs, I think it may be more satisfactory to your Lordship that the whole should be brought into one point of view.

To begin with the French army: two statements, taken from Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle's letters, exhibit the gross amount; the other a return of the number that passed each day through Irun of the reinforcements that have arrived in Spain from the 1st October to the 4th November; these statements, marked No 1, make them to amount to 48,700 infantry, 7,840 cavalry, 850 artillery men, 84 cannon, and 509 ammunition waggons. On the 4th Buonaparte passed through, and has been since heard of at Vittoria; the report of his being at Logrono I should think unfounded; with these troops, Marshals Victor, Lefevre, Savari, Palet, and 17 general officers have arrived.

Your Lordship will have heard of the attack made upon General Blake's army, and of that officer's retreat to Valmaseda; you will also probably have heard of the defeat of a considerale part of the Estramaduran division at Burgos, with the loss of the greater part of their cannon, and I am afraid a considerable number of men; this division, consisting of 12,000 or 14,000 men, was intended for the support of General Blake, and to keep up in some manner the communication between the armies of the left and centre. The defeat of this division is the more to be regretted, as it was in a much better state of equipment and order than the generality of the Spanish troops; the remains of this division, of which 5 or 6000 men are untouched, have retreated to Oranda. The French, as it would appear, have not advanced beyond Burgos.

By the paper marked No. 2, you will perceive that all in probability ere this time a general action has been fought between the armies of General Castanos and Palafox and the French. By a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle received last night, and forming one of his enclosures in his last letter, it appears that the junction of the army of Arragon, considered uncertain in Colonel Graham's letter, will have taken place; your Lordship will hear from Mr. Frere, that the command of the army of the centre has been taken from General Castanos and given to the Marquis de la Romana.

Major-General St. Juan has been appointed to collect the remains of the Estramaduran division; to these are to be added 5000 or 6000 men that marched from Madrid yesterday, and about 8000 men coming from the South; in the course of a fortnight or three weeks he will have under his command about 20,000 men. I have been much struck with the good sense, intelligence, and reasonableness of this officer, and his reputation stands very high; I had much conversation with him upon the present situation of things. He proposes to adopt the following plan of operations for his corps; if Castanos should beat the French, he presumes, as is most probable, that the French will retreat again across the Ebro, and the danger being thus for the moment averted, time may be had for the concentration and better disposition of our force; in this case he will advance to Burgos; but should the French beat Castanos, he is of opinion that the enemy will then advance; in that case he purposes to remain as long as possible at Aranda, without committing his force, and, if obliged to retire, he will take the road of Valladolid and join the English army; the plan seems to me in all respects judicious. In case your Lordship should receive no advices from Sir John Moore by the present occasion, you will be glad to receive the latest intelligence of the exact situation of the British army; the first division of General Hope's column coming from Badajoz, according to the present arrangement, will pass through Madrid on the 22d November, the nine other divisions in which this corps marches, will pass on the nine successive days; the route has been so settled by the Spanish officers sent to meet a British officer of the Quarter-master-general's Department.

Sir John Moore is at Salamanca, he writes me word in a letter dated the 10th, that in six or seven days he should have assembled at Salamanca 15,000 infantry, and one brigade of artillery; he proposes not to move beyond Salamanca, until the army are united; how far the union of the army, and its future operations are likely to be effected by the movements of the French, I shall offer an opinion presently.

I must not disguise from your Lordship that I think very unfavourably of the affairs of Spain. I presume nobody doubts that Buonaparte will make a great push, that he will act with his accustomed vigour, in the hope of being able, by a series of victories, to subdue the Spanish spirit. It cannot be doubted but that he has come with a very large army. I should think it would be a low calculation to estimate his force at 100,000, of which at least 12,000 are cavalry. Blake's army is for the present *hors du combat*. The only immediate means of resistance consists in the army of Castanos and

Palafox. Against these, I think Bonaparte can bring superior numbers, and a very superior cavalry. This army is also in want of clothing, of money, and of provisions. Its spirit, however, is represented to be excellent, and Colonel Graham, in whose opinion I have great reliance, speaks very confidently of the event of a battle. If, however, it should happen that the French are victorious, it must be expected that the army will advance, and occupying Placentia and Valladolid, may endeavour to prevent the junction of our troops from Corunna, or of the army of General Blake with our main corps. I know not the proposed plan for the co-operation of the army of the left, but it is supposed that the Marquis de la Romana will direct General Blake to leave the mountains, and to join the nearest troops to the right. If the French allow this operation to be made, and that the British army united shall be enabled to form a junction with Generals Blake and St. Juan, there will be collected together a very formidable force, and capable of making head against the enemy. But should the British army either not be able to unite, or the junction of General Blake not take place, it seems hardly possible for Sir John Moore to resist the concentrated attack that will be made upon him. This case is the most probable one, in my judgment, and it seems important that every remedy against disasters, and every means of strengthening the British force, should be immediately adopted. With this view it is my intention to write to Sir Harry Burrard, stating the critical situation of affairs, and my opinion of the urgency of forwarding to the frontier all the British and Portuguese force that can be collected. Notwithstanding I think ill of the present moment, and that the Spaniards have not the means at present to repel the danger that threatens, still I have confidence in the unconquerable spirit of the nation. They want time, which unfortunately the activity of Bonaparte's movements will not allow them. But great as the success of the French may be, the Spaniards will be able again to assemble at the south of Madrid in every province, and in their mountains they will be able to carry the same destructive warfare which has once cleared Spain, much more unprovided with the means of annoyance than she is at present. But the early or distant period of success must always depend upon the extent of assistance in well disciplined infantry, and in cavalry in particular, which can be given by Great Britain.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letters of the 1st and 27th of October. That of the 1st October only reached me on the 4th November. I have submitted the question respecting the supply of oats and

hay from England for Sir John Moore's opinion. I have directed Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle to go into Catalonia.

I have the honour to be,&c.

W. BENTINCK.

Tudela, Head Quarters,
Castanos' Army, 9th November, 1808.

MY DEAR LORD,

CAPTAIN WHITTINGHAM meant to have written to Lord Castlereagh by the General's courier to-day; but he has just sent me word that he is unable to move from a violent rheumatism, owing to his having got very wet the other day while oppressed with a bad cold. He desires me to inform you of this, and to let you know that the movement across the Ebro, which was determined on in the Council of War on the 5th instant, will not take place.

From all the information received, it appears to be the design of the enemy to come down in force on this side from Logrono, &c. and the General has determined to support the troops left at Carahorra, and to take up a position from thence with his left extending across the plain towards the mountains at Amido, with the remainder of the troops in a second line of cantonments, the right at Alfaro, and the left up towards Fetero. This second line, however, will be very incomplete, unless the Aragonese troops come over to fill it up.

The member of the Junta, Palafox, set out early yesterday morning to Exca, in consequence of the expectation of the movement across the Ebro taking place. On receiving this intelligence concerning the plans of the enemy, (rendered still more probable by the account the General received from Blake, of his being forced to retire,) an express was sent after Palafox, who is expected back here this morning.

It is hoped that his order to General O'Neil will induce him to march from Sanguessa without a moment's delay, and without waiting for any orders from the Captain General of Aragon.

If this corps arrives in time, the army will be altogether about 50,000 men, and in a good position, with the mountains on their left, and rear, to retire into by Agreda and Seira, in case of defeat.

The troops are now moving forward from this, and head quarters will

move to-morrow. I wish I may have it in my power to send you good news soon.

Ever most truly your's,
(Signed) THOMAS GRAHAM.

No. XXIV.

Extract of a Letter from Major-General Lord William Bentinck, to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Castlereagh; dated Madrid, 21st November, 1808.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your three letters, dated the 2d of November.

I have little news to communicate. The Captain-General of Castile informed me to-day, that a party of 1000 infantry and 1,500 horse had approached the Somo Sierra, where General St. Juan, with 8,000 men, are posted. General St. Juan stated, that he could not answer for their not being the advanced guard of a larger force.—The head of General Hope's column arrived at the Escurial to-day. He assembles there all his infantry, to allow the cavalry in the rear divisions to precede the column; General Stewart, with the 18th, will enter Madrid on the 24th.—The march of this column becomes rather critical, as there is nothing whatever between it and the enemy.—I cannot however think that the French will push on, as long as the army of the centre and of Aragon have not been beaten. We are in hourly expectation of hearing of the result of the attack that was to have been made upon the French in Navarre by Generals Castanos and Palafox.

In case of the British army being obliged to retreat, I have communicated to Sir John Moore the wish of the Spanish Government, that he should fall back upon the centre of Spain, in preference to a movement either towards Gallicia or Portugal.

I shall set out on the 24th to join the army at Salamanca.

No. XXV.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Lisbon, 9th October, 1808.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour to receive on the evening of the 6th inst. your Lordship's letter of the 25th September, announcing to me that his Majesty

had been graciously pleased to intrust to me the command in chief of a corps of troops, not less than 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, which his Majesty had determind to employ in the North of Spain.

I beg your Lordship will convey to his Majesty the high sense I have of the honour he has thus conferred upon me, and that you will assure his Majesty that I have nothing more at heart than the good of his service; that my best exertions shall not be wanting to promote its success, and I can only be happy in proportion as I shall be able to fulfil his wishes, and to justify in any degree the trust which he has been graciously pleased to repose in me.

I shall take an early opportunity to communicate with your Lordship on the various matters contained in your late dispatches, dated the 25th and 26th September. At present I can do little more than to acknowledge their receipt, and to state that it is my intention, as it was that of Sir Harry Burrard, to move with the troops from this, on Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo; this movement, your Lordship will observe by Lord Bentinck's letters of the 2d instant, is recommended by the Spanish Generals, and I think it preferable, for many reasons, to a movement by sea to Corunna, which, at this season would be tedious and uncertain, and where the country, already exhausted by General Blake's army, will perhaps scarcely be able to supply the equipment required to enable the corps under Sir David Baird, when landed, to move forward.

The march from this will be by three routes, Coimbra, Guarda, and Alcantara; one regiment will begin its march the day after to-morrow on Coimbra, and all may be forwarded to a short distance on their different routes, in the course of eight or ten days; but when they will be able to proceed farther, or to pass the frontier of Portugal, it is impossible for me at this instant to say; it depends upon a knowledge of the country, which I am still without, and on commissariat arrangements yet unmade, but every effort shall be made by me, and by those under me, to accomplish so desirable an object before the rains set in.

I cannot conclude without mentioning the very great asistance I receive from Sir Harry Burrard, who acts with a degree of candour of which few people would be capable under such circumstances; he seems on this occasion to put himself aside, and to give every thing to me, and to a service he thinks the most important, with as much liberality as if he were himself personally concerned in the conduct of it. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE, Lieutenant-General.

To Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXVI.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Lisbon, 18th October, 1808.

SINCE I had the honour to write to you upon the 9th instant, I have received your Lordship's letter of the 30th September, enclosing copies of your instruction to Sir David Baird, and of your letter to Lord William Bentinck, a statement of the transports, &c. and a paper of the Marquis of Romana, on the line of march from Corunna to Castille. I immediately wrote to inform Sir David Baird of my intention to march the whole of the troops by land, and to prevent his sending round the transports to St. Andero or Corunna; but had I wished to send any part of the army by sea, I could have done it without the aid of these transports, as there still remain here, after the embarkation of the French, tonnage for 12,000 men.

I have received letters within these two days from Lord William Bentinck, from Madrid of the 8th instant, in which he mentions that the Spanish Government had been thrown into a considerable degree of alarm, in consequence of a letter intercepted from the Governor of Bayonne to Marshal Jourdan, informing him that, between the 16th October and the 16th November, 66,000 infantry, and from 5 to 7,000 cavalry, would enter Spain.

Lord William seems to consider this alarm, upon the whole, as salutary, although he gives credit to the contents of the letter, as the former supineness, confidence, and indifference to the existing danger, had been succeeded by a state of great activity; the troops from Madrid had been ordered to advance by double marches. General Castanos was sent to the army, and a determination was come to appoint Mr. Morla, of Cadiz, Minister for the War Department, a man of whose ability and energy of character much benefit was to be expected; a letter was also written to Mr. Stuart, by Count Florida Blanca, to press the immediate junction of the British forces. The letters to which I had written both to Mr. Stuart and Lord William on the 10th instant would inform them of the succours coming from England, and the measures I was taking to accelerate the march of the troops. It is impossible to be more anxious than I am to get forward, but it is needless to take forward troops without the means to enable them to act; and however light the equipment I have fixed, yet the difficulty of procuring it is very considerable; add to this a commissariat extremely zealous, but quite new

and inexperienced in the important duties which it now falls to their lot to execute. I am however sufficiently aware of the importance of even the name of a British army in Spain, and I am hurrying as much as possible; the greatest part of the troops are in motion. In the course of this week, all will, I hope, be clear of Lisbon; as soon as they are placed on their different routes, and I have concluded the arrangement here, I shall leave the conduct of the marches to the Generals conducting the different columns, and shall proceed myself direct to Almeida, to determine their further movement.

I have received no report yet of the arrival of Sir David Baird; I expect it daily, and I have already sent two staff officers to join him.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE, Lieutenant-General.

To Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXVII.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Lisbon, 27th October, 1808.

MY LORD,

EVERY thing is now clear of Lisbon, except two regiments which march to-morrow and the day following, and I shall myself leave it in a couple of hours.

I am under the necessity of sending Lieutenant-General Hope with the artillery, cavalry, and a corps of infantry, in all about 6000 men, by the great road leading from Badajos to Madrid, as every information agreed that no other was fit for the artillery, or could be recommended for the cavalry. This is a great round, and will separate the corps for a time from the rest of the army, but there is no help for it. The road turns to the left a short distance from Madrid, and leads upon Espina, from whence it can be directed upon Valladolid and Burgos, or whatever other place may be judged hereafter best for the assembly of the army.

Sir David Baird arrived at Corunna on the 13th inst. but as it had not been previously notified to the Central Junta, he was not permitted to land his troops, until an answer was received from Madrid. I have not heard from Sir David Baird since that answer was returned, but I conclude that he landed on the 21st. I have written to him to march upon Astorga, as soon as his corps is equipped, with the infantry which marched from this direct upon Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. I shall not advance beyond Salamanca until the corps

under Baird and Hope approach Astorga and Espina, but shall collect them in Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Salamanca. This at least is my intention at present, and I shall consider myself fortunate if they reach those places before the first rains, which in general last six or eight days, and fall so heavy that, during their continuance, the troops must halt.

I have directed Sir David Baird to form a small depôt of provisions and ammunition at Astorga. I am endeavouring to form one at Almeida, but the difficulty of carriage through Portugal is such, that it is extremely doubtful whether it will be found in time to be of much use; as we advance, Corunna must be the place from whence our supplies from England are drawn, Lisbon and Portugal become then of no use to us; I have, however, under present circumstances, and until the army is united, thought it right to request Sir Charles Cotton not to send home the transports, and to this he has consented, unless he should be otherwise directed from England. Some ordnance and other ships should at any rate be left at Lisbon for the conveyance of such stores and provisions as may be wanted to Corunna.

Colonel Lopez, the officer sent to me from Madrid, was with me two days, he is now gone to aid General Hope's march. He is very confident that we shall not want supplies, and it is upon this general assurance of the Spanish Government, that I am leading the army into Spain without any established magazines. In this situation nothing is more essentially requisite than money, and unfortunately we have been able to procure here very little. Sir David Baird has come without any, and his troops paid only to the 24th September, and from this we could only send him 8,000*l*. Mr. Erskine has, I believe, written upon this subject, and I should hope that a supply was now on its passage.

It is my intention, as soon as I have made the necessary arrangement for the troops at Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, &c. to go for a few days to Madrid; no Commander in Chief is yet named; and I fear the consequences, should the French, reinforced, be able to act offensively, and the different Spanish armies continue to be directed by a Council arriving at Madrid.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Viscount Castlereagh,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XXVIII.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Salamanca, 24th November, 1808.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour, upon the 17th instant, to receive your Lordship's dispatches of the 2d, conveyed to me by a King's messenger.

My letter from Lisbon of the 27th October, would apprize your Lordship, that, having concluded every arrangement there, I was about to follow the troops then already upon their march into Spain. As I travelled with my own horses, and was necessarily detained by business at different places upon the road, I did not reach Salamanca until the 13th. On the day following the regiments began to arrive, and continued daily to come in by corps in succession.

The three divisions of infantry which marched under Lieutenant-General Fraser, Major Generals Paget and Beresford, are now all here, together with one brigade of artillery, which, with infinite difficulty, followed the road by Abrantes and Castello Blanco. One brigade of infantry, which left Lisbon last, is still absent; it is employed in the escort of the ordnance and other stores, which are forwarding for the service of the army.

The troops have performed this march well, in spite of very bad weather, and the worst roads I ever saw; their appearance now is as good, and their fi ness for service much better, than when they left Lisbon.

Their conduct upon the march, and since their arrival here, has been exemplary; all this does them honour, and marks strongly the care and attention of the Generals and officers who conducted the marches, and who are in the immediate command of the troops.

Lieutenant-General Hope, with the corps which marched from Badajos, in the direction of Madrid, will arrive, with the head of that division, at Arivola on the 25th, where I have ordered it to halt and close up. The first of the troops under Sir David Baird, from Corunna, reached Astorga on the 13th, and the whole, including the 7th, 10th, and 15th dragoons, will be assembled there about the 5th of December, before which time Gen. Hope's corps will also be collected at Arivola.

If we are not interrupted, the junction of the army will be effected early in the next month. But the French, after beating the army of Estrema-

dura, are advanced at Burgos. General Blake's army in Biscay has been defeated, dispersed, and its officers and soldiers are flying in every direction; and the armies of Castanos and Palafox, on the Ebro and Alagon, are at too great a distance to render me the smallest assistance. Under such circumstances the junction of this army becomes exceedingly precarious, and requires to be conducted with much circumspection. Should the French advance upon us before it is effected, Sir David Baird must retire upon Corunna, and I shall be forced to fall back upon Portugal, or to join General Hope, and retire upon Madrid.

The information which your Lordship must already be in possession of, renders it, perhaps, less necessary for me to dwell upon the state of affairs in Spain, so different from that which was to be expected. Had the real strength and composition of the Spanish armies been known, and the defenceless state of the country, I conceive that Cadiz, and not Corunna, would have been chosen for the disembarkation of the troops from England; and Seville or Cordova, not Salamanca, would have been selected as the proper place for the assembling of this army.

The Spanish Government do not seem ever to have contemplated the possibility of a second attack, and are certainly quite unprepared to meet that which is now made upon them—their armies all inferior even in number to the French; that which Blake commanded, including Romana's corps, did not exceed 37,000 men, a great proportion of them mere peasantry. The armies of Castanos and Palafox united do not now exceed 40,000, and are not, I suspect, of a better description, and until lately they were much weaker. In the provinces no armed force whatever exists, either for immediate protection, or to reinforce the armies. The French cavalry from Burgos, in small detachments, are over-running the province of Leon, raising contributions, to which the inhabitants submit without the least resistance. The enthusiasm of which we have heard so much no where appears, whatever good-will there is (and I believe amongst the lower orders there is a great deal), is taken no advantage of.

I am at this moment in no communication with any of the Generals commanding the Spanish armies. I am ignorant of their plans, or of those of the Government. General Castanos, with whom, after repeated application, I was desired to communicate, for the purpose of combining the operations of the British army, was deprived of his command at the moment I had begun my correspondence with him. The Marquis of Romana, who is appointed his successor, is still at St. Ander. It is difficult for me to

form any plan for myself beyond the assembly of the army. I shall then be in a state to undertake something; and if the Spaniards, roused by their misfortunes, assemble round us, and become once more enthusiastic and determined, there may still be hopes of expelling the French. It is my wish to lay before your Lordship, for the information of Government, things exactly as they are. It answers no good purpose to represent them otherwise, for it is thus that we must meet them.

I feel no despondency myself, nor do I wish to excite any in others, but our situation is likely soon to become an arduous one. Reverses must be expected, and though I am confident this army will always do its duty, yet ultimate success will depend more upon the Spaniards themselves, and their enthusiastic devotion to their cause, than on the efforts of the British, who, without such aid, are not sufficiently numerous to resist the armies which will be immediately opposed to them.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXIX.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Salamanca, November 29, 1808.

I RECEIVED yesterday evening a letter from Mr. Stuart, inclosing one from Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle from Saragossa, announcing the total defeat of the army of Castanos and Palafox. My junction with Sir David Baird, which was always extremely doubtful, though I was determined to try it, is become, I conceive, quite impracticable; but if this army could be united, after the specimens we have had of the very little resistance offered by the Spaniards, what chance has this army alone of resisting the formidable numbers which will be immediately brought against it. I conceive the British troops were sent in aid of the Spanish armies, but not singly to resist France, if the Spaniards made no efforts. By persevering longer I shall certainly sacrifice the army, without benefiting Spain, I have therefore determined to retire. I have ordered Sir David Baird to fall back on Corunna, and General Hope, to endeavour by forced marches, to join me at this place. There is a considerable chance that he may be intercepted, or that he may be obliged to fall back through the Guadarama on Ma-

drid. I shall remain here as long as I can; or I may make a movement to my right, to protect General Hope, but I shall immediately take measures to retreat by Ciudad Rodrigo, and enter the frontier of Portugal.

I shall be in want of provisions there for so large a corps, but my object will be to remain on the frontier as long as possible to cover Lisbon, the embarkation of the stores, &c.

But the Spaniards may still give the French more occupation, and the difficulties of the country, the swelling of the rivers, &c. may prevent the French from pushing us much, and enable me to stand for a time. This time can only be well employed in withdrawing the army, which can do no good here, but which, if the Spaniards, roused, and got an able man at their head, are able to collect, and to make battle from the south. If landed at Cadiz we may still be useful. I have desired Sir David, therefore, to repair, when embarked, to the Tagus, and I should hope that your Lordship will immediately order a sufficient number of transports from England to receive the army. When I left Lisbon, there was tonnage there for 12,000 men. I shall probably have an opportunity of writing to you again very soon, but I was anxious not to detain Mr. Vaughan, who carries this, and who brought me Mr. Stuart's letter from Madrid. I shall anxiously wait for your Lordship's answer, and hope to find that the decision I have made meets the approbation of his Majesty's Government.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

I shall write to the General commanding in Portugal, to receive back immediately the stores of the army, and to send provisions to Abrantes and Oporto for this army. He will provision and make dispositions to aid us in covering Lisbon.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXX.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Viscount Castlereagh.

Salamanca, 5th December, 1808.

I HAD the honour to address your Lordship on the 29th November, and to inform you with the determination I had come to in consequence of the defeat of the army of General Castanos. Lieutenant-General Hope, with the division he commands, marched by Avila to avoid the superior cavalry of the enemy in the plain, and reached Alba de Formes, four

leagues from this, yesterday. His junction is thus secured, and I am now preparing to fall back on Ciudad Rodrigo.

The enemy has directed his whole force towards Madrid, which will probably give me time to reach Portugal unmolested. Bonaparte is at Aranda de Douro: reinforcements join him daily.

The French attacked and carried the pass of Somo Sierra on the 29th, which opens to them that of the Guadarama, and they are in possession of Segovia. The few Spanish corps opposed to them, are composed of fugitives collected from the beaten armies, and they offer no resistance. I have had no communication with Madrid since the 30th November; the inhabitants had taken up arms; were barricading the streets, and expressed a determination to die rather than to submit. How long the populace of a large town are likely to persevere in such resolutions, or how long they will be able to withstand the formidable attack made against them, I cannot say.

Your Lordship may believe that it was not without much reflection, and extreme reluctance, that I determined to withdraw the army from Spain, and to abandon a cause, for the success of which the Government are so much interested and the public mind so highly exalted.

As long as there remained an army, and any hope of resistance on the part of the Spaniards, I was determined to persevere, at all risks, in the junction of the army; and then, if General Castanos had received a check, or been forced to retreat, it was my intention, if nothing better offered, to march upon Madrid, from whence, getting behind the Tagus, we should have given the Spaniards an opportunity of rallying around us, and have shared their fortunes. This intention I mentioned to your Lordship in my letter of the 24th, and I imparted it as a question to Mr. Frere for his opinion. But the sudden defeat of General Castanos' army left nothing either to aid me or to prevent the further progress of the enemy.

The British army was at that moment on its march to collect at this place and Astorga. General Hope, with the head of his division, was at Villa Castrin, and from the collected manner in which it was necessary for him to march he could not have joined me sooner than he has done. Sir David Baird's corps could not be collected at Astorga before the 4th of this month; it was thus impossible for this army to have been united before the 13th or 14th, and still later before it could be ready to undertake an offensive movement. This time was more than sufficient to enable the enemy to finish the destruction of what little Spanish force remained, and to turn the greatest part of his army against the British, which, when united, does not exceed 26,000 men, but

which probably he would be able to attack whilst detached and separated. I consider the British army as standing alone; that its union could not be attempted without great hazard; or if effected, that it could not withstand the great force that would be brought against it. It was vain, I thought, to expect that under such circumstances it could retrieve the Spanish cause; and though I knew the army would cheerfully attempt whatever I ordered, I thought my duty called upon me not to expose it to a contest in which its best efforts could not promise to be successful. It may fairly be said that the British army never reached Spain; it cannot, in the true sense, be called an army until it is united and prepared to act; the Spanish forces were defeated, and their cause lost, before the British so constituted could come to their assistance.

I feel the weight of the responsibility which has fallen on me. I had nothing but difficulties to choose; whether I have chosen the least, and that which will be the least disapproved by his Majesty and my country, I cannot determine; my wish has been to decide right. I reflected well upon the different duties I had to discharge; and if I have decided wrong, it can only be because I am not gifted with that judgment which was imputed to me when I was intrusted with this important command.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXXI.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Salamanca, 12th December, 1808.

SINCE I had the honour to address my dispatch to you this morning considerable hopes are entertained, from the enthusiastic manner in which the people of Madrid resist the French. I own I cannot derive much hope from the resistance of one town against forces so formidable, unless the spark catches, and the flame becomes pretty general, and here the people remain as tranquil as if they were in profound peace. I have, however, in consequence of the general opinion, which is also Mr. Frere's, ordered Sir David Baird to suspend his march, and I shall continue at this place until I see further, and shall be guided by circumstances. Unless the spirit becomes general, Madrid must soon fall; at all events if I marched into Portugal it would be with a view to return the moment a favourable opportunity

offered; but I shall not go towards Madrid until I know with more certainty the force of the enemy, and see something to convince me that more confidence may be placed in the steadiness of the Spaniards. I had the honour to receive yesterday your Lordship's dispatches of the 15th November, by Mr. Wyndham of the first Guards.

I have the honour to remain, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXXII.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Castlereagh.

Salamanca, 8th December, 1808.

IN a short letter which accompanied my dispatch of the 5th instant, I mentioned that the resistance of the people of Madrid had arrested the operations of the French, and gave a hope that the affairs of this country might still be recovered. If the example of the capital is followed, and enthusiasm becomes general, France will be forced to divide her armies, and will be no longer so formidable. The difficulty of obtaining information is very great. I have none certain with respect to Madrid, only I believe it still holds out. I have ordered Sir David Baird, who was retreating, to march back. I shall continue the arrangements I had ordered in Portugal, in case I should be obliged to fall back; but I am preparing to march to Zamora and Toro, to join Sir David Baird, whom I have ordered to advance to Benevente. When we are joined, and if the Marquis of La Romana, with the troops he is collecting at Leon, is ready, I shall move on towards Burgos; and on the communications of the French, your Lordship may depend upon it that I shall never abandon the cause as long as it holds out a chance of succeeding. But you must be sensible that the ground may be in an instant cut away from under me. Madrid may fall, and I be left to contend with very superior numbers indeed.

I hope a better spirit exists in the southern provinces. Here no one stirs, and yet they are well inclined. An expression in an intercepted letter from a French officer commanding at Vittoria to the chief of the staff with the army, paints the people in this part exactly, "L'esprit publique est toujours mauvais, toujours de l'incredulité sur nos avantages. Quant a la tranquillité du pays, elle est parfaite.

As I am sending a courier to Sir David Baird, I have written this on the chance of an oppotunity offering to forward it, and in this manner I shall endeavour to keep you in the current of affairs here.

I have sent Colonel Graham to Madrid to send me information of what is passing there. Lord Paget with the cavalry arrives at Zamora to-morrow, and the next day I purpose moving a corps with myself to Toro.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXXIII.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Salamanca, 10th December, 1808.

COLONEL GRAHAM, whom I had sent to Madrid, returned to me last night; he could only get as far as Talavera de la Reina, where he found the members of the Supreme Junta, who informed him that Madrid had capitulated on the 3d. The Duke of Castel Franco and M. de Morla, who were at the head of the Junta established at Madrid, are accused by the people of having betrayed them. Castellar, the Captain-General, and all the military officers of rank, refused to ratify the treaty, and left the town with 16 pieces of cannon; the people refused to give up their arms, but the French have the gates, the Retiro, and Prado; Saragossa still holds out, and it is said that on the 1st they repulsed the French who had made a general attack. It is said that attempts are making to assemble a great force in the South. I dare say the force will be assembled; but the efforts it will make when assembled, I must think, are very doubtful. There is however a chance, and whilst there is that, I think myself bound to run all risks to support the Spaniards. I am now differently situated from what I was when Castanos was defeated. I have been joined by General Hope, the artillery and all the cavalry. (Lord Paget with three regiments is at Toro); and my junction with Sir David Baird is secure, though I have not heard from him since I ordered him to return to Astorga. Madrid, though it has capitulated, must still engage a considerable part of the enemy's force. Saragossa is also a considerable diversion, and the collections forming in the South cannot be neglected. All his force cannot thus be directed against

me. The corps collecting under the Marquis of La Romana at Leon, is, I am told by Sir David Baird, very bad. I shall however connect myself with it; and I mean to move to Valladolid, where I shall order Baird to join me, and to which neighbourhood I hope also that La Romana will advance. This movement I shall begin to-morrow by sending two corps to join Lord Paget at Toro. Generals Hope and Fraser from Alba de Formes and this place, shall move on Tordisillas, and I should hope on the 14th to be at Valladolid. My communication, when there, will become uncertain with Almeida and Portugal, from whence all my stores are not yet forwarded, but I must take my chance; I shall be in fortuue's way; if she smiles we may do some good; if not, we shall still, I hope, have the merit of having done all we could. The army for its numbers is excellent, and is I am confident quite determined to do its duty. I have had a letter from Sir John Cradock from Corunna; he was proceeding to Lisbon; he has landed part of the money from the Lavinia there, and will land the rest at Oporto or Lisbon. I have begged of him to bring the two regiments from Gibraltar to the Tagus.

The horses and harness of the waggon train will be useful, but their waggons are heavy and bad, those we got in the country are more convenient. I should therefore propose to leave the waggons at home, and send the rest of that establishment only.

Until affairs in Spain bear a more promising aspect, I should think your Lordship will approve of keeping at Corunna or Lisbon a sufficient quantity of transports for the re-embarkation of the army.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXXIV.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Salamanca, 12th December, 1808.

I LEAVE this place to-morrow, and I shall be at Valladolid on the 16th with the troops I brought with me from Lisbon, with the addition of three regiments of cavalry from England, amounting to 1,500. I have not heard from the Marquis of La Romana, and must give up the co-operation of his corps for the present. Sir David Baird's will not be at Astorga

for some days, but he will advance to Benevente when ready, and as he will be in my rear he can move up, or I can fall back upon him, but I do not think it advisable longer to delay moving forward. I shall threaten the French communications, and create a diversion, if the Spaniards can avail themselves of it, but the French have in the North of Spain from 80 to 90,000 men, and more are expected. Your Lordship may therefore judge what will be our situation if the Spaniards do not display a determination very different from any they have shewn hitherto.

I have written to Sir John Cradock to keep whatever transports are not required for the embarkation of the troops in Portugal, ready to send to Vigo, if required. If I am forced to retreat, it will probably be on the Galicias. The road is good, and the country capable of being defended; in this case we shall want flour, as the country produces only cattle in abundance. Whatever ships are sent from England for the purpose of withdrawing the army, should call at Corunna for orders, and then rendezvous at Vigo. It is to Corunna also that money and every supply should be forwarded. The communications from Lisbon and Oporto, through Portugal, is so very bad, that nothing can be forwarded in time; and as I consider myself now united with Baird's corps, I shall certainly of the two, whether for retreat or communication, prefer Galicia to Portugal.

The French force in Spain may fairly be set down at 80,000 men, besides what is in Catalonia. The British at 27 or 28,000, including two regiments coming from Portugal. The French expect considerable reinforcements. The armies which the Spaniards had formed, have been beaten and dispersed, and are again collecting. This, my Lord, is I believe the true statement, and I leave to your Lordship to throw into the scale what portions of enthusiasm, resolution, or ability, you think we have a right to expect from the specimens already given.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXXV.

[With one Enclosure.]

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Toro, 16th December, 1808.

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 3d December, with enclosures, forwarded to me by a king's messenger, who

reached me on the night of the 13th at Aluejos, the head-quarters of the army, after its first march from Salamanca. I was to have proceeded on the 15th to Valladolid, which place I should have reached the next day, when I received the letter of which I send your Lordship a copy. It is from Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel, to Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia. The officer who was charged with it was murdered by some peasants near Valdestillas, between Segovia and Valladolid, who brought the letter to our advanced posts, to Brigadier-General Charles Stewart. I was determined by the information it contained, to prefer the speedy union of the army to every other object, and therefore, instead of marching to Valladolid, I marched to this place. I had already directed Sir David Baird to push on his corps by brigades to Benevente. The first arrived there yesterday, and the brigade of guards will reach it this day. I shall march from this to-morrow to some villages within two or three leagues of Benevente. I shall there be so close as to be able to protect Sir David Baird's junction, and make it perfectly secure—it will be the 20th before all his corps are up. If, then, Marshal Soult is so good as to approach us we shall be much obliged to him, but if not we shall march towards him. It will be very agreeable to give a blow to such a corps; although with respect to the cause, generally, it will probably have no effect, Spain being in the state described by Berthier's letter.

The French seem to have been ill informed of our movements; they are however now acquainted with them, as our advanced posts have met, and Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, with a detachment of the 18th dragoons on the night of the 12th surprized a detachment of their cavalry and infantry in the village of Rueda, killed and took prisoners the greatest part of them. The affair was trifling, but was managed by the Brigadier-General with much address, and was executed with spirit by the officers and men. It was a detachment from Valladolid, where General Franceschi commanded with 3 or 400 cavalry. He had no knowledge of our being so near, and would not believe one of the men who escaped from the village in the dark, and carried to him the report of the surprize and defeat of the detachment. Whether, when Buonaparte hears that we have not retired to Lisbon, he will give to the troops on their march to Badajos a different direction, I cannot say; but whilst I march towards Soult I must take care not too much to uncover Astorga and the passes into Galicia, from whence in future I must draw all my stores, and through which ultimately, if pressed, I can alone retreat. Should, therefore, on my approach, Soult retire towards Burgos to

join Junot, who is on his march to that place with the 8th corps, I shall of course be forced to desist, and to return to this neighbourhood. If I beat Soult, unless the victory has the effect to rouse the Spaniards, it will be attended with no other advantage than the character it will attach to the British arms.

I have apprized Sir John Cradock of Buonaparte's march to Badajos, which has since been confirmed to me by a man who left Talavera after his advanced guard had entered it. I have told him, that in case of retreat, mine will be through Galicia, and I have begged of him, after selecting the quantity of tonnage necessary for the embarkation of the troops in Portugal, to send the rest to Vigo, to await my orders. The Lieutenant-General will communicate to your Lordship the quantity of tonnage he sends to Vigo, when you will be able to judge the quantity necessary to be sent there from England, should the re-embarkation of this army become necessary. Your Lordship must see the probability of such an event, and will, I fancy, think it right to have the means upon the spot. Should this army retire into Galicia, and remain in it any time, I understand from Sir David Baird, that we shall want flour, which I should hope you will send from England. With respect to the propriety of sending reinforcements, I must leave your Lordship to determine. If at this moment I had 7 or 8000 cavalry I could certainly do much. If we retire into the Galicias, they would be an incumbrance, and to enable us to keep our ground in Spain, the reinforcements of both cavalry, infantry, and artillery, must be considerable indeed. I shall endeavour to give your Lordship, from time to time, every information, and must then leave you to form your own determination. It is a subject upon which you can form as good a judgment as the best military man.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

I received a letter on the 13th from the Marquis la Romana, in which he says he will send an officer to me, as he does not choose to trust to paper, by a messenger, the subject he has to communicate. This officer is not yet come; the Marquis is still at Leon, he says, with 20,000 men, 3000 of whom have no arms.

J. M.

(Translation.)

To the Duke of Dalmatia.

Chamartin, 10th December, 1808.

SIR,

I HAVE read to the Emperor your letter of the 4th of December, which was brought by one of your officers. His Majesty approves every thing you have done. The 8th regiment of dragoons, the 22d of chasseurs, the regiment of Colonel Tascher, and the Hanoverian regiment, form two brigades, commanded by the Generals of Brigade de Velle and Franceschi; these two brigades of cavalry are under your orders, and you are at liberty to manœuvre them as you may judge expedient. The Emperor is of opinion that with the two divisions of Merle and Monton, and the four regiments of cavalry, nothing can resist you.

What have you to do? To make yourself master of Leon, to drive the enemy into Galicia, and to seize upon Benevente and Zamora. You ought not to have any English troops in your front, as some regiments are come to the Escurial and Salamanca, and every thing inclines us to think that they are in full retreat; one advanced guard is this day at Telavera de la Reyna, on the road to Badajos, and it will soon be in that city.

You are aware that this movement will force the English to fall back upon Lisbon (if it has not already done so). As soon as you shall be certain that there are no English in your front (as there is every reason to expect), you will be enabled to proceed without interruption; as to the Spaniards, none of them can maintain themselves against your two divisions. You will cause shoes and great coats to be made at Leon, St. Ander, and Palencia. His Majesty approves all the requisitions you may make, having in view the improvement of your . You may likewise make a requisition of mules to remount your artillery, and of horses to remount your cavalry. In all these transactions you will observe the necessary forms, and you will do every thing which can promote good management. It is possible, that as soon as General Miller's division of dragoons shall arrive in Spain, the Emperor will send it to you, but it will not arrive in Spain for at least fifteen days. At the distance you are from us, you must exercise your own discretion in all your proceedings, and you will consider what I write to you only as a general instruction. His Majesty thinks you will take every measure to reduce the country between the Duero, and Galicia

and the Asturias, at all times sedulously guarding St. Ander. The fifth corps, commanded by the Duke of Trevido, has been ordered to proceed to Saragossa. The eighth corps, under the command of the Duke of Abrantes, the first division of which will arrive at Vittoria about the 12th, will probably receive orders to unite at Burgos.

Armed vessels of every description have been directed to repair to St. Ander; you will cause them to be laden with English merchandize which has been seized, with cotton, wool, artillery, &c. and you will have them sent to France. Lastly, you will keep Valladolid and Zamora in subjection. Valladolid is a fine city, and has conducted itself well. It is said, that it would be important to occupy Zamora. Finally, Sir, the Emperor thinks that you may do every thing from the moment the English retire upon Lisbon. Five divisions belonging to Castanos, composed of the best troops, have been routed still more easily than you routed the army of Andalusia at Burgos. The remains of the army of Castanos are pursued by Marshal Bessieres, who has cut them off from the Estremadura road, and is pursuing them several days march beyond the Tagus. The Emperor's head-quarters are at Chamartin, a little , a league and a half from Madrid. His Majesty enjoys the most perfect health. The city of Madrid is very tranquil: the shops are open, the theatrical amusements have been resumed, and you would not suppose that the first conferences had been accompanied by 4000 discharges of cannon.

(Signed) The Prince of NEUFCHATEL,
Major-General.

I will send you to-morrow the proclamation and decrees issued by the Emperor. You will there recognise him as formed for universal command.

No. XXXVI.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Benevente, 28th December, 1808.

MY LORD,

SINCE I had the honour to address you upon the 16th from Toro, the army has been almost constantly marching through snow, and with

cold that has been very intense; the weather within these few days has turned to rain, which is much more uncomfortable than the cold, and has rendered the roads almost impassable. On the 21st the army reached Sahagun; it was necessary to halt there, in order to refresh the men, and on account of provisions. The information I received was that Marshal Soult was at Saldana with about 16,000 men, with posts along the river from Guarda to Carrion. The army was ordered to march in two columns at eight o'clock on the night of the 23d, to force the bridge at Carrion, and from thence to proceed to Saldana. At six o'clock that evening I received information that considerable reinforcements had arrived at Carrion from Palencia, and a letter from the Marquis la Romana informed me that the French were advancing from Madrid, either to Valladolid or Salamanca. It was evident that it was too late to prosecute the attempt upon Soult; that I must be satisfied with the diversion I had occasioned, and that I had no time to lose to secure my retreat. The next morning General Hope with his own division, and that of Lieutenant-General Fraser, marched to Mayorga. I sent Sir David Baird with his division to pass the river at Valencia, and I followed General Hope on the 25th, with the reserve and the light brigades, by Mayorga and Valderes to Benevente. The cavalry under Lord Paget followed the reserve on the 26th; both the latter corps entered this place yesterday. We continue our march on Astorga. Generals Hope and Fraser are already gone on. Sir David Baird proceeds to-morrow from Valencia, I shall leave this with the reserve at the same time. Lord Paget will remain with the cavalry, to give us notice of the approach of the enemy. Hitherto their infantry have not come up, but they are near, and the cavalry is round us in great numbers. They are checked by our cavalry, which have obtained, by their spirit and enterprise, an ascendancy over that of the French, which nothing but great superiority of numbers on their part will get the better of. The diversion made by our march on Sahagun, though at great risk to ourselves, has been complete; it remains to be seen what advantage the Spaniards in the south will be able to take of it. But the march of the French on Badajos was stopped when its advanced guard had reached Talavera de la Reina, and every thing disposable is now turned in this direction. The stores I had collected here are moving back to Astorga, and those at Astorga to Villa Franca. The roads are very bad, and the means of carriage scanty. If I am pressed, I must lose some of them, and I may be forced to fight a battle; this however I shall endeavour to avoid, for certainly, in the present state of things, it is more Buonaparte's game than mine. It is said that he

comes himself with 10,000 of his guards. The force moving against us cannot be less than 50,000 men; we shall, when at Astorga, be about 27,000. The Marquis la Romana came forward to Mansilla with 6000, to co-operate with me on the attack on Soult; I therefore conclude that he cannot have above 8000 fit for action. The country about Astorga offers no advantage to an inferior army. I shall therefore not stop longer there than to secure the stores, and shall retreat to Villa Franca, where, I understand, there is a position. But if the French pursue, I must hasten to the coast, for there is a road to Orenza, which leads more direct to Vigo, and which of course renders the position at Villa Franca of no avail.

Some time ago, when I was advancing to Sahagun, the Marquis la Romana intimated his intention of retiring into the Galicias by Astorga and Villa Franca. I endeavoured to dissuade him from it, pointing out to him that it was the only communication we had for our retreat or supplies, and begged that it might be left open to us. He stopped his retreat for the moment, but I much fear he will now prosecute it, in which case I know not how it will be possible for us to pass.

I had the honour to receive your Lordship's dispatches of the 10th by Captain Hardinge, yesterday morning. I shall be guided by circumstances, and shall not, you may rest assured, retreat an inch beyond what I am compelled to do; but I fear if once I am forced into the mountains, that the want of the means of subsistence will make it necessary to proceed down to the coast, to be provisioned from the ships. I need hardly add the necessity of sending immediately the means of transport to re-embark the army at Vigo or Corunna. The only part of the army which has hitherto been engaged with the enemy has been the cavalry, and it is impossible for me to say too much in their praise. I mentioned to your Lordship in my letter of the 16th, the success Brigadier-General Stewart had met with in defeating a detachment of cavalry at Reuda. Since that, few days have passed without his taking or killing different parties of the French, generally superior in force to those which attacked them. On the march to Sahagun Lord Paget had information of 6 or 700 cavalry being in that town. He marched on the night of the 20th from some villages where he was posted in front of the army at Mayorga, with the 10th and 15th hussars; the 10th marched straight to the town, whilst Lord Paget with the 15th endeavoured to turn it; unfortunately he fell in with a patrole, one of whom escaped and gave the alarm, by this means the French had time to form on the outside of the town before Lord Paget got round. He immediately charged them,

beat them, and took from 140 to 150 prisoners, amongst whom were two Lieutenant-Colonels, and eleven officers, with the loss on our part of six or eight men, and perhaps twenty wounded. There have been taken by the cavalry from 4 to 500 French, besides a considerable number killed; this since we began our march from Salamanca. On his march from Sahagun on the 26th, Lord Paget, with two squadrons of the 10th, attacked a detachment of cavalry at Mayorga, killed twenty, and took above one hundred prisoners. Our cavalry is very superior in quality to any the French have, and the right spirit has been infused into them, by the example and instruction of their two leaders, Lord Paget and Brigadier-General Stewart.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXXVII.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Astorga, 31st December, 1808.

I ARRIVED here yesterday, where I found the Marquis la Romana with a great part of his troops. With respect to me, my Lord, and the British troops, it has come to that point which I have long foreseen. From a desire to do what I could, I made the movement against Soult; as a diversion it has answered completely, but as there is nothing to take advantage of it, I have risked the loss of the army for no purpose. I have no option now, but to fall down to the coast as fast as I am able. I found no provisions here, the little which had been collected had been consumed by Sir David Baird's corps in their passage, and there is not two days bread to carry the army to Villa Franca. I have been forced to push on the troops by divisions, without stopping. General Fraser, with his division, will be at Villa Franca this day, and will proceed on to Lugo. General Hope, with his division, stopped yesterday two leagues from this, and proceeds this morning, followed by Sir David Baird. The two flank brigades go

by the road of Ponferrada ;* I shall follow with the reserve and cavalry to Villa Franca, either this night or to-morrow morning, according as I hear the approach of the French. There is no means of carriage ; the people run away ; the villages are deserted ; and I have been obliged to destroy great part of the ammunition and military stores ; for the same reason I have been obliged to leave the sick; in short, my sole object is to save the army. We must all make forced marches to the coast, from the scarcity of provisions, and to be before the enemy, who, by roads upon our flanks, may otherwise interrupt us ; but after a time the same difficulties which affect us, must affect him ; therefore the rear once passed Villa Franca I do not expect to be molested. I hope to find on the coast, transports for the embarkation of the troops, if not, I hope to be able to take up some position which I can maintain until they arrive. It is not probable that we can be followed by the numbers which are now marching against us ; and once collected upon the coast, we shall certainly not allow ourselves to be molested by any thing like equal numbers ; it is only whilst retreating that we are vulnerable.

I have heard of some dispatches of your Lordship to me, intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Chabot, but he has been sent into Portugal, and I have not received them.

The morning I marched from Benevente, some squadrons of Bonaparte's guards passed the river at a ford ; above the bridge they were attacked by Brigadier-General Stewart, at the head of pickets of the 18th and 3d German light dragoons, and driven across the ford. Their Colonel, a General of Division, Le Febvre, was taken, together with about 70 officers and men. The affair was well contested ; the numbers with which General Stewart attacked were inferior to the French. It is the corps of greatest character in their army, but the superiority of the British was, I am told, conspicuous.

I send the French General Le Febvre to Corunna to be forwarded to England. He is a young man, and I should suppose, from the station he held, a personal favourite of Bonaparte.

JOHN MOORE.

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* Probably intended for Monteferrada on the Orensee road.

No. XXXVIII.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore to Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Corunna, 13th January, 1809.

SITUATED as this army is at present, it is impossible for me to detail to your Lordship the events which have taken place since I had the honour to address you from Astorga on the 31st December: I have therefore determined to send to England Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, as the officer best qualified to give you every information you can want, both with respect to our actual situation, and the events which have led to it.

Your Lordship knows that had I followed my own opinion as a military man, I should have retired with the army from Salamanca. The Spanish armies were then beaten; there was no Spanish force to which we could unite, and I was satisfied that no efforts would be made to aid us, or to favour the cause in which they were engaged.

I was sensible, however, that the apathy and indifference of the Spaniards would never have been believed; that had the British been withdrawn, the loss of the cause would have been imputed to their retreat, and it was necessary to risk this army to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves. It was for this reason that I made the march to Sahagun. As a diversion it succeeded; I brought the whole disposable force of the French against this army, and it has been allowed to follow me, without a single movement being made to favour my retreat. The people of the Galicias, though armed, made no attempt to stop the passage of the French through their mountains. They abandoned their dwellings at our approach, drove away their carts, oxen, and every thing that could be of the smallest aid to the army. The consequence has been, that our sick have been left behind; and when our horses or mules failed, which on such marches, and through such a country was the case to a great extent, baggage, ammunition, stores, &c. and even money, were necessarily destroyed or abandoned.

I am sorry to say, that the army, whose conduct I had such reason to extol on its march through Portugal, and on its arrival in Spain, has totally changed its character since it began to retreat. I can say nothing in its

favour, but that when there was a prospect of fighting the enemy, the men were then orderly, and seemed pleased and determined to do their duty. In front of Villa Franca, the French came up with the reserve, with which I was covering the retreat of the army; they attacked it at Calcabelos. I retired, covered by the 95th regiment, and marched that night to Herresias, and from thence to Nogales and Lugo, where I had ordered the different divisions which proceeded to halt and collect. At Lugo, the French again came up with us. They attacked our advanced posts on the 6th and 7th, and were repulsed in both attempts, with little loss on our side. I heard from the prisoners taken, that three divisions of the French army were come up, commanded by Marshal Soult; I therefore expected to be attacked on the morning of the 8th. It was my wish to come to that issue; I had perfect confidence in the valour of the troops, and it was only by crippling the enemy that we could hope either to retreat, or to embark unmolested. I made every preparation to receive the attack, and drew out the army in the morning to offer battle. This was not Marshal Soult's object. He either did not think himself sufficiently strong, or he wished to play a surer game by attacking us on our march, or during our embarkation. The country was intersected, and his position too strong for me to attack with an inferior force. The want of provisions would not enable me to wait longer. I marched that night, and in two forced marches, bivouacing for six or eight hours in the rain, I reached Betanzos on the 10th instant.

At Lugo I was sensible of the impossibility of reaching Vigo, which was at too great a distance, and offered no advantages to embark in the face of an enemy. My intention then was to have retreated to the peninsula of Betanzos, where I hoped to find a position to cover the embarkation of the army in Ares or Redes bays; but having sent an officer to reconnoitre it, by his report I was determined to prefer this place. I gave notice to the Admiral of my intention, and begged that the transports might be brought to Corunna; had I found them here, on my arrival on the 11th, the embarkation would easily have been effected, for I had gained several marches on the French. They have now come up with us, the transports are not arrived; my position in front of this place is a very bad one; and this place, if I am forced to retire into it, is commanded within musket-shot, and the harbour will be so commanded by cannon on the coast, that no ship will be able to lay in it. In short, my Lord, General Stewart will inform you how critical our situation is. It has been recommended to me to make a proposal to the enemy, to induce him to allow us to embark quietly, in

which case he gets us out of the country soon, and this place, with its stores, &c. complete; that otherwise we have the power to make a long defence, which must cause the destruction of the town. I am averse to make any such proposal, and am exceedingly doubtful if it would be attended with any good effect; but whatever I resolve on this head, I hope your Lordship will rest assured, that I shall accept no terms that are in the least dishonourable to the army or to the country. I find I have been led into greater length, and more detail than I thought I should have had time for; I have written under interruptions, and with my mind much occupied with other matter. My letter, written so carelessly, can only be considered as private. When I have more leisure I shall write more correctly, in the mean time I rely on General Stewart for giving your Lordship the information and detail, which I have omitted. I should regret his absence, for his services have been very distinguished; but the state of his eyes makes it impossible for him to serve, and this country is not one in which cavalry can be of much use. If I succeed in embarking the army, I shall send it to England; it is quite unfit for further service until it has been refitted, which can best be done there.

JOHN MOORE.

To the Right Hon. Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXXIX.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, JAN. 24.

Downing-street, Jan. 24.

The Honourable Captain Hope arrived late last night with a dispatch from Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, of which the following is a copy:

His Majesty's Ship Ville de Paris, at Sea, January 18, 1809.

MY LORD,

BY the much-lamented death of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who fell in action with the enemy on the 16th instant, it has become my duty to acquaint your Lordship, that the French army attacked the British troops in the position they occupied in front of Corunna, at about two o'clock in the afternoon of that day.

A severe wound, which compelled me to quit the field a short time previous to the fall of Sir John Moore, obliges me to refer your Lordship for

the particulars of the action, which was long and obstinately contested, to the inclosed report of Lieutenat-General Hope, who succeeded to the command of the army, and to whose ability and exertions, in direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his Majesty's troops, is to be attributed, under Providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy at every point of attack.

The Hon. Captain Gordon, my Aide-de-Camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and will be able to give your Lordship any further information which may be required.

I have the honour to be &c.

D. BAIRD, Lieut.-Gen.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

His Majesty's Ship Audacious, off Corunna, Jan. 18, 1809.

SIR,

IN compliance with the desire contained in your communication of yesterday, I avail myself of the first moment I have been able to command, to detail to you the occurrences of the action which took place in front of Corunna, on the 16th inst.

It will be in your recollection, that about one in the afternoon of that day, the enemy, who had in the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in the front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at the extremity of the strong and commanding position, which, on the morning of the 15th, he had taken in our immediate front.

This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by the rapid and determined attack which he made upon your division, which occupied the right of our position. The events which occurred during that period of the action you are fully acquainted with. The first effort of the enemy was met by the Commander of the Forces, and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Major-General Lord William Bentinck.

The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest.

I lament to say, that soon after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed

the most able dispositions, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged.

The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget, with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The Major-General having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps) and 1st battalion 52d regiments, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line) induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter.

They were however more forcibly directed towards the centre, where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of the division under my orders. Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our pickets, which, however, in general maintained their ground. Finding however his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls; before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action, whilst the enemy confined its operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were re-assembled on the ground they occupied in the morning, and the pickets and advanced posts resumed their original stations.

Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over an enemy, who

from his number, and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory; I did not, on reviewing all circumstances, conceive that I should be warranted in departing from what I knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late Commander of the Forces, to withdraw the army on the evening of the 16th, for the purpose of embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his order, and were, in fact, far advanced at the commencement of the action. The troops quitted their position about ten at night, with a degree of order that did them credit. The whole of the artillery that remained unembarked having been withdrawn, the troops followed in the order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation in the town and neighbourhood of Corunna. The pickets remained at their posts until five on the morning of the 17th, when they were also withdrawn with similar orders, and without the enemy having discovered the movement.

By the unremitted exertions of Captains the Hon. H. Curzon, Gosselin, Boys, Rainier, Serrett, Hawkins, Digby, Carden, and Mackenzie, of the royal navy, who in pursuance of the orders of Rear-Admiral de Courcy, were entrusted with the service of embarking the army; and in consequence of the arrangements made by Commissioner Bowen, Captains Bowen and Shepard, and the other agents for transports, the whole of the army were embarked with an expedition which has seldom been equalled. With the exception of the brigades under Major-Generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore, until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was afloat before day light.

The brigade of Major-General Beresford, which was alternately to form our rear-guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna; that under Major-General Hill was stationed in reserve on the promontory in rear of the town.

The enemy pushed his light troops towards the town soon after eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th, and shortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which command the harbour. But notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehension that the rear-guard could be forced, and the disposition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major-General Hill's brigade was commenced and completed by three in the afternoon; Major-General Beresford, with that zeal and ability which is so well known to yourself and the whole army, having fully explained, to the satisfaction of the Spanish governor, the nature of our movement, and having made every previous ar-

rangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town soon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that had not been previously moved, embarked before one this morning.

Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope, that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britian. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers, and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be however to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection, that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army which had entered Spain, amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from the Duero, afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain.

You are well aware with what diligence this system has been pursued.

These circumstances produced the necessity of rapid and harassing marches, which had diminished the numbers, exhausted the strength, and impaired the equipment of the army. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, and those more immediately attached to a defensive position, which the imperious necessity of covering the harbour of Corunna for a time had rendered indispensable to assume, the native and undaunted valour of British troops was never more conspicuous, and must have exceeded what even your own experience of that invaluable quality, so inherent in them, may have taught you to expect. When every one that had an opportunity seemed to vie in improving it, it is difficult for me, in making this report, to select particular instances for your approbation. The corps chiefly engaged were the brigades under Major-Generals Lord William Bentinck, Manningham, and Leith; and the brigade of guards under Major-General Warde.

To these officers, and the troops under their immediate orders, the greatest praise is due. Major-General Hill and Colonel Catlin Crawford, with their brigades on the left of the position, ably supported their advanced posts.

The brunt of the action fell upon the 4th, 42d, 50th, and 81st regiments, with parts of the brigade of guards, and the 26th regiment. From Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, quarter-master-general, and the officers of the general staff, I received the most marked assistance. I had reason to regret, that the illness of Brigadier-General Clinton, adjutant-general, deprived me of his aid. I was indebted to Brigadier-General Slade during the action, for a zealous offer of his personal services, although the cavalry were embarked.

The greater part of the fleet having gone to sea yesterday evening, the whole being under weigh, and the corps, in the embarkation, necessarily much mixed on board, it is impossible, at present, to lay before you a return of our casualties. I hope the loss in numbers is not so considerable as might have been expected. If I was obliged to form an estimate, I should say, that I believe it did not exceed, in killed and wounded, from seven to eight hundred; that of the enemy must remain unknown, but many circumstances induce me to rate it at nearly double the above number. We have some prisoners, but I have not been able to obtain an account of the number; it is not, however, considerable. Several officers of rank have fallen, or been wounded, among whom I am only at present enabled to state the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, 92d regiment, Majors Napier and Stanhope, 50th regiment, killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Winch, 4th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, 26th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Fane, 59th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Griffith, guards, Majors Miller and Williams, 81st regiment, wounded.

To you, who are well acquainted with the excellent qualities of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, I need not expatiate on the loss the army and his country have sustained by his death. His fall has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had sincerely attached me. But it is chiefly on public grounds that I must lament the blow. It will be the conversation of every one who loved or respected his manly character, that, after conducting the army through an arduous retreat, with consummate firmness, he has terminated a career of distinguished honour by a death that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British soldier. Like the immortal Wolfe, he is snatched from his country at an early period of a life spent in her service; like Wolfe, his last moments were gilded by the prospect of success, and cheered by the acclamation of victory; like Wolfe, also, his memory will for ever remain sacred in that country which he sincerely loved, and which he had so faithfully served.

It remains for me only to express my hope, that you will speedily be restored to the service of your country, and to lament the unfortunate circumstance that removed you from your station in the field, and threw the momentary command into far less able hands.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN HOPE, Lieut.-Gen.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir D. Baird, &c.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, OF TUESDAY, JANUARY 24.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 24, 1809.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Michael De Courcy, Rear-Admiral of the White, to the Honourable W. W. Pole, dated on board his Majesty's Ship the Tonnant, at Corunna, the 17*th and* 18*th instant.*

January 17, 1809.

SIR,

HAVING it in design to detach the Cossack to England, as soon as her boats shall cease to be essential to the embarkation of the troops, I seize a moment to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the ships of war, as per margin,* and transports, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, and Commissioner Bowen, arrived at this anchorage from Vigo, on the 14th and 15th instant; the Alfred and Hindostan, with some transports, were left at Vigo, to receive a brigade of three thousand five hundred men, that had taken that route under the Generals Alten and Crawford.

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* Ville de Paris, Victory, Barfleur, Zealous, Implacable, Elizabeth, Norge, Plantagenet, Resolution, Audacious, Endymion, Mediator.

In the vicinity of Corunna, the enemy have pressed upon the British in great force. The embarkation of the sick, the cavalry, and the stores went on. The night of the 16th was appointed for the general embarkation of the infantry ; and, mean time, the enemy prepared for attack. At three P. M. an action commenced ; the enemy, which had been posted on a lofty hill, endeavouring to force the British on another hill of inferior height, and nearer the town.

The enemy were driven back with great slaughter : but very sorry am I to add, that the British, though triumphant, have suffered severe losses. I am unable to communicate further particulars, than that Sir John Moore received a mortal wound, of which he died at night ; Sir David Baird lost an arm ; that several officers and many men have been killed and wounded ; and that the ships of war have received all such of the latter as they could accommodate, the remainder being sent to transports.

The weather is now tempestuous, and the difficulties of embarkation are great. All except the rear-guard are embarked ; consisting, perhaps, at the present moment, of two thousand six hundred men. The enemy, having brought cannon to a hill overhanging the beach, have forced a majority of the transports to cut or slip. Embarkation being no longer practicable at the town, the boats have been ordered to a sandy beach near the light-house ; and it is hoped that the greater part, if not all, will still be embarked, the ships of war having dropped out to facilitate embarkation.

January 18.

The embarkation of the troops having occupied the greater part of last night, it has not been in my power to detach the Cossack before this day ; and it is with satisfaction I am able to add, that in consequence of the good order maintained by the troops, and the unwearied exertions of Commissioner Bowen, the captains, and other officers of the navy, the agents, as well as the boats' crews, many of whom were for two days without food and without repose, the army have been embarked to the last man, and the ships are now in the offing, preparatory to steering for England. The great body of the transports having lost their anchors, ran to sea without the troops they were ordered to receive, in consequence of which there are some thousands on board the ships of war. Several transports, through mismanagement, ran on shore. The seamen appeared to have abandoned them, two being brought out by the boats' crews of the men of war, two were burnt, and five were bilged.

I cannot conclude this hasty statement without expressing my great obligation to Rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood, whose eye was every where, and whose exertions were unremitted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

M. DE COURCY.

Hazy weather rendering the Cossack obscure, I detach the Gleaner with this dispatch

FINIS.

T. Gillet, Printer,
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